

AMERICAN PROBLEMS

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AMERICAN PROBLEMS

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TO A LITTLE BOY,

WHOSE EARTHLY LIFE, BEGUN IN STURDINESS AND JOY, WAS ENDED IN A FEW SHORT DAYS THAT WERE FULL OF PAIN, BY THE FOUL AIR OF A CITY OF CESSPOOLS ; BUT WHOSE COMING WAS FROM GOD, AND WHOSE TAKING MADE HEARTS TENDERER FOR THE MANY LITTLE SUFFERERS THAT PERISH TODAY AMID THE FILTH AND VICE OF MISGOVERNED CITIES,

THIS BOOK IS LOVINGLY DEDICATED.

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FOREWORD

FOREWORD

THE twentieth century has brought to the American people four great problems.

One of them is the Negro. The question of what to do with the black man is no realer problem nor more pressing to-day than it was a quarter of a century ago. It has simply become, from the scattering of the Negro over our entire country, more wide-spread. The people of the North and West are just awakening to a problem which has confronted the people of the South for over a generation. The problem has now become national, and the difficulty of securing justice for the black man and of making the black man worthy of

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companionship because worthful in our social order, is now recognized by both the opinionated Northern philanthropist and the prejudiced Southern planter as simply enormous. If the South has done the Negro a gross injustice by attempting to condemn him forever to the place of a servant to the white man, the North, however unintentionally, has put a most effective stumbling block in his way by attempting to lift him from fetish worship and savagery with lessons in Latin and Greek, and, even more, by diverting him from industry and thrift with visions of social and political prestige.

The Labor question has locked up in it the industrial future of America, and thereby her international position in general. The utter failure of those directly concerned to deal with the question thus far from anything like a Christian point of view has

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made the whole thing largely a matter of greed and grab.

Our industrial world is in sore need of the spirit of human brotherhood.

The Liquor problem has been our despair; and, unless some solution is found which will destroy the blighting influence of the saloon, and meet the present increasing evils of social drinking, the whiskey barrel and the beer keg may one day represent our nation more truly than will the Stars and Stripes.

The rule of the great city is peculiarly a twentieth century problem, and unless the men of mature business experience and moral worth are put at its head, the city will become in our national life as great a curse as Babylon and Rome were to their empires.

In addition to these four, another problem has found discussion here. Because of its bearing on all the rest, and because

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its solution is essential to right dealing with the others, the problem of Vice is here considered.

In dealing with such practical questions as these, two extreme parties are always developed ; and the failure to unite them on it is the doom of any measure. One of them is the idealist and the other is the opportunist. One of them determines his policies by the achievements of to-day, the other by those of a century. One of them is Esau bargaining his birthright to-day for a mess of pottage, and the other is Jacob, sacrificing everything to-day that he may one day have a race like the sands on the seashore for number. The opportunist will sacrifice his ideal for a little betterment of his present condition ; the idealist will take nothing unless it measures up to his ideal. Booker T. Washington, in counseling the Negro to give up building

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air castles and social and political ambitions, and in the exercise of manual labor, and especially the ownership and tillage of the soil, cultivate industry, thrift and economy, has been called an opportunist ; while such a man as William E. B. Du Bois, who is perhaps the most highly educated Negro in America, and urges all black men to be content with no lower culture for themselves, is without doubt a thorough-going idealist.

Especially has this been true in dealing with the Liquor problem. The out-and-out prohibitionist has been often fanatical in denouncing the advocate of any measure short of this, even calling the advocates of high license "murderers" ; while the opportunist would take any betterment of present conditions which might offer itself.

Now, manifestly, in any successful effort to solve these problems, these two parties

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must find a place where they can work together. It ought not to be difficult. It means simply for the opportunist to keep ever before him the standard of the idealist as his ultimate aim, and it means for the idealist to come down out of the clouds, and in securing any betterment of present conditions, take the first step in a series of opportunists' victories it may be, towards securing his highest ideal.

It is high time for the two parties to cease their bickerings. It is one of the most deplorable things about our national history that they have wrestled with each other for dictation of reform policy, while vice was corrupting their youth and boodlers were ruling their city. When the Puritan awakened to the fact that his uncompromising idealism was joining hands with Tammany to make New York a city of "graft and boodle," the tiger was caged

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and the city made better. It is often said that the best combination in religion is the backbone of a Presbyterian and the fervor of a Methodist. Certainly the best combination for the solution of our problems is a union of the opportunist and the idealist, for the doer of deeds and the dreamer of dreams to join hands and become another Joseph.

It should also be said that these chapters have been prepared for the layman. The writer will be glad for the considerate reading which they may receive from any quarter; but they are sent forth with the hope that they may be of special interest to that large and growing class of conscientious and intelligent men and women of our nation whose busy lives do not permit a detailed study of these problems, but without whose personal interest and intelligent help, these problems can never be solved.

THE NEGRO

*“ This is a people robbed and spoiled ;
they are all of them snared in holes, and they
are hid in prison houses ; they are for a prey,
and none delivereth ; for a spoil, and none
saith, Restore. Who among you will give
ear to this ? Who will hearken and hear
for the time to come ? ”—Isaiah.*

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CHAPTER I

THE PROBLEM OF THE NEGRO

UNIMPASSIONED discussion of the Negro problem has never been easy. Race antagonism has always affected it; for whether it was in equatorial Africa or in the cotton fields of the United States, the Negro and the white man have never worked well as yoke-fellows. Sectional prejudice has greatly added to the difficulty with us in America; for about no question that has ever arisen in our land has feeling been

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more bitter than about the act of the North in forcing the South to set free their slaves. But the Civil War is far away, and its wounds have had time to heal; and the white man has no reason to fear Negro domination. It is time for us to discuss calmly and reach a right conclusion about how to deal with the ten millions of Negroes which are a part of our body national. For whether they shall be a curse or a blessing in our national life depends largely on the patience and wisdom with which the white man discusses and works out the Negro problem.

Because the majority of the Negroes are in the South, it has been common to regard the problem as local; but events are ever coming to our attention which show it to be distinctly national. Colorado and Ohio have had their lynchings for the Negro's nameless but decreasing crime, as

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well as Virginia, Mississippi and Texas. Illinois and New York have had their race riots, and as murderous and fierce as those of Alabama and Georgia, and the inborn race antagonism comes to the surface wherever white and black men meet in serious labor rivalry, whether it be as section hands in the South, or domestic servants in the East, or mechanics in the West.

It is also a national question in the matter of responsibility. The New England Puritan and the Southern Cavalier are alike responsible for both the Negro's presence in the United States and the institution of slavery. The Southern planter furnished a buyer and a field of labor in which to use him, and the New Englander did a paying business as his importer and jobber, and with characteristic business sense the latter worked off all of his goods

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before President Lincoln's proclamation knocked the bottom out of the market.

Facing this fact, it is becoming for us to cease sectional abuse, and share as a nation the responsibility for whatever curse or blessing the Negro has gotten from his slavery to the Anglo-Saxon.

Though holding him in slavery, the American cannot be charged with having been utterly indifferent to the Negro's need. Self-interest, if he was lacking in the milk of human kindness, led the slave-master to take good care of his slave's body, to feed him on wholesome food, to surround him with good sanitation, to nurse him in sickness. Christian philanthropy also caused the master to give the slave in many cases a religious nurture, and the fruit of this work was apparent in the fact that when the Civil War closed there were scores of thousands of intelligent and

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devoted Christians and church members among the slaves.

When the conscience of our nation was awakened to the wrong of slavery, the Negro's freedom was bought with some of our people's most precious life-blood.

Then an attempt was made to atone for the wrong of slavery by honoring him with the gift of the franchise, but the zeal was mistaken, and bad politics throve on the venture at the cost of the Negro's added degradation, for the franchise was a responsibility for which he was unprepared.

In the stormy years that followed, some of the most talented and cultured men and women of our land devoted their lives to the Negro's uplifting, and millions of dollars have been spent on him by both North and South.

How have the efforts fruited? What has been the answer to it all? Isolated

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cases of remarkable ability, like Frederick Douglass, Booker T. Washington, Paul Lawrence Dunbar, William Sheppard, William E. B. Du Bois and Bishop Arnot have arisen ; and the ambition of the sluggish race has been stirred in many quarters. But after all these years the Negro is still a benighted race, intellectually and morally, a burden instead of a blessing in the economic and religious world, a menacing problem in our national life.

It was a pitiful cry that Harriet Beecher Stowe uttered in her *Uncle Tom's Cabin* years ago for the helpless slave dragging his ball and chain under the slave-driver's whip ; and God be thanked that even her over-colored and unjust picture was used by an all-wise Providence to sweep the horrors and disgrace of human slavery from our land. Would to God a second Harriet Beecher Stowe were raised up, to utter,

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not in exaggeration, but even justly, the pitiful cry of the Negro's need to-day. For there are not a few things that would force one to the conclusion that the Negro is worse off to-day in America than when he was a slave. The following facts, based on the United States census for 1890, from which they may be verified, were recently brought out in two notable addresses. One of them was by Dr. W. H. Wilcox, a native of Massachusetts, a professor in Cornell University, and at that time detailed as chief statistician of the census at Washington, before the American Social Science Association, at Saratoga. The other was by Dr. George T. Winston, a native of North Carolina, formerly President of the University of Texas, and then President of the North Carolina Agricultural and Mechanical College, before the National Prison Association, of

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Austin, Texas. They are six in number and are full of significance :

1. The Negro is much the most criminal element of our population.

2. The Negro is constantly increasing in criminality, being more criminal as a free man than he was as a slave, and one-third more criminal in 1890 than he was in 1880.

3. More than seven-tenths of the Negro criminals are under thirty years of age.

4. The Negro is nearly three times as criminal in the Northeast and three and one-half times as criminal in the Northwest as in the South.

5. The Negro is three times as criminal as the native white and one and one-half times as criminal as the foreign white, an element which is largely made up to-day of the scum of Europe and Asia.

6. The Negroes who can read and write

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furnish a larger percentage of criminals than the illiterate, a thing which is true of no other element of our population, or of any other people on earth of whom we have criminal statistics.

However, these things may be mitigated by qualifications which may occur to the reader, it is plain that we have not made a very brilliant success in dealing with the Negro in the past.

THE NEGRO'S FUTURE

What is to be the negro's future? It has been pointed out repeatedly by historians that whenever an inferior and a superior race have come together, one of three things has always taken place:

1. The two races have amalgamated. Illustrations of this are found in the hybrid population in the Philippine Islands, and in the half-breed population of Mexico and much of South America.

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2. Or, as a second alternative, the stronger has reduced the weaker to political or even manual slavery, as the Anglo-Saxon and Teuton have done with the black man in South Africa and North America.

3. Or, failing both of these, the weaker race has become extinct, a process which is actually taking place before our eyes in the gradual extinction of the Indian in North America, and of the native in the Hawaiian Islands, before the march of the white man. Which of these shall be the fate of the Negro? Who would have the first? The Negro does not dare to ask it, and the white man who would seek it would do so in the face of nature's manifest laws,¹ and bring down on him from the men of his own race the curse of a

¹ The mulattoes, or Negroes of mixed white blood, are as a class weak physically, and the easiest prey to disease.

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low-bred renegade. Must it be one of the other two? We have declared he shall not be held in manual slavery in the United States. Shall we hold him in political servitude and industrial impotence, or let vice and lynching kill him out? Has America nothing better to offer the Negro? By the grace of God let us make a new bit of history in the realm of anthropology. If past generations have been to the Negro the priest and Levite who passed by on the other side, or came near only to add another bruise to his hurts, may not this generation become a Good Samaritan to him? That is Christianity's mission to the Negro—to the universe—to say, not that the future shall be as the past, but better; to show how the strong can help the weak, as a race as well as in individual cases. Is it not possible, and therefore obligatory, for the stronger arm

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of the white man to bring to the Negro in America, not political subjection, not a weak rival's extinction, but such paternal care and wise help to self-help as will lead him to grow out of the weakness of ignorance and vice into the strength of virtue and a Christian manhood?

IS THE NEGRO SAVABLE?

But can this be done, and if it can, how?

Since 1860, we have been attempting to do it by giving the Negro a few scraps of social privileges and a classical education. Proceeding on the supposition that the Negro was simply a white man with a black skin, it was argued that all the Negro needed was a white man's higher education and social privileges. Those who knew the Negro most intimately were quite skeptical about this, but many monied philanthropists insisted on it strenuously, and so we took to it as a nation.

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The effort was made magnificently. According to the reports of Commissioner Harris for 1896-7, the South since 1870 has spent one hundred million dollars of its tax money on the Negro's education, and Northern philanthropists and the United States government have together spent an equal amount since 1861. But with what results? We reduced the Negro's illiteracy, but we allowed him to increase in crime, and he remained morally and spiritually a benighted Negro still, "an eminently religious animal," to use the language of a Northern philanthropist, "utterly devoid of morality." In his veins, like tainted blood, African fetish worship still ran riot, and he could well say to his would-be helpers in the language of Andres to Don Quixote: "For the love of God, Signor Knight-Errant, if ever you meet me again, though you see me

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beaten to pieces, do not come to my help, but leave me to my fate, which cannot be so bad but that it will be made worse by your worship."

SEND THE NEGRO NORTH

Another plan proposed has been the distribution of the Negroes among the Northern States, where, it was claimed, there was less race antagonism, where the Negro would be given kinder treatment in social life and find a better chance to get an education or work at his trade. It took but a little experience, however, to show the error of this opinion. Race antagonism was found to be as strong in the North as in the South, when the Negroes began to come in large numbers, and they were more thoroughly shut out from the organized trades than in the South they had been from the white schools. The fact is, the South will always be the home

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of the Negro. It suits him as to climate, and it alone fosters the temperament of a master who can be patient with him as a laborer.

Students of the problem are generally agreed that there is no future for the Negro as a race in the North. Capital employs him only when it can get nothing else, and housekeepers find it difficult to bear with the Negro servant's untidiness and wastefulness. In the South almost every avenue to labor is open to the Negro, from that of the cotton field hand to the skilled metal worker or stone mason; but the door to the trades is tightly shut against him throughout the North, and promises to remain so.

COLONIZATION

Another remedy, strenuously advocated by some, is foreign colonization. In the presence of the superior talent and culture

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and large numbers of the white man, the Negro, it has been argued, is cowed. Self-distrust is fostered by the unequal competition, and ambition for bettering his condition is choked out. The Negro needs a field of his own, free from the white man's intervention and competition, where he would have full field to govern and develop himself.

A notable response to this appeal was the colonization scheme in Liberia, the result of which was prophesied at its inception by those most intimately acquainted with the Negro's traits. Instead of improving the colonists, there has been a constant tendency toward degeneration. It should be borne in mind that this colonization scheme brings to the Negro just what he had for centuries in his life in Africa; and when he was placed in a land of his own, apart from the white

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man's influence, he began at once to revert to the original type.

Colonization schemes, whether carried out in Liberia or attempted on a smaller scale in the swamps of Kansas and the deserted residence sections of our large cities, have only added little Africas to the Black Continent from which the Negro first came.

The colonization of the Negro in some isolated section of the United States, has no more feasibility nor effectiveness than his colonization abroad. The problem can be solved by none of these. The same law which keeps water from rising above its source, which demands the helping hand from the vegetable to lift a mineral into the vegetable world, and the ministry of a power from the animal world to translate a vegetable into it, calls for a helping hand from the white man if the

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Negro is ever to be freed from the shackles of vice and fetish worship, and become the peer of the white race.

THE SOLUTION OF THE PROBLEM

Our first step in solving the problem will be to cease theorizing and deal with the actual condition. Gail Hamilton said: "If God made the white man white, the yellow man yellow, and the black man black, He intended for the white man to remain white, and the yellow man to remain yellow, and the black man to remain black."

We may not agree with the full significance of this statement, but we must recognize that in dealing with the Negro, we are not dealing with a white man with the mere difference of a black skin. The black man is a Negro. Back of this black race are centuries of benighted and barbarous existence, the influences of

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which will be eliminated, if at all, little less rapidly than his present degradation has come. The Negro's present condition is not the result of his slavery to the white man. That was a vast step upward in his moral and intellectual development over what preceded it. The Negro's present condition roots itself back through centuries of racial degeneration in the jungles of Africa. We cannot reverse this process in a day. A little four or eight years course of classical education will not uproot the ancestral inheritance of a millennium of barbarity. The Anglo-Saxon himself leaped by no such suddenness to his present supremacy. The very skull of the Negro would have pointed us to this lesson, had we stopped to let the scientist show us the thickness of it and the early age at which its sutures hardened. The Negro race is thick-headed in more

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ways than one; and this sluggishness, in reference to every upward step, must be kept in mind.

Along with this we must recognize the Negro's moral condition. No race on earth is so susceptible to religious emotion; but no race on earth is so blind to the religious obligations of morality.

It is very easy for a newspaper reporter to visit the white and black quarters of a city like New Orleans, and because on the one night of his visit, he found things so, to write up the white quarters as more vicious than the black, a thing which was recently done in a Chicago daily; but statistics tell a very different tale; and statistics gathered by government experts are certainly more to be relied on than one night's observation of even a keen-eyed reporter. It has already been pointed out that the United States statis-

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tics show that the Negro is more criminal than even our foreign-born population, largely made up today of the worst classes of Europe and Asia. An examination of the actual conditions of Negro life emphasizes the deductions from these statistics. Time after time, judges of criminal courts in our large cities have called attention to the great menace which the young Negroes are increasingly becoming to the peace and safety of the city. The greatest cause of this is undoubtedly the lack of moral nurture in the average Negro home. The immorality of the Negro is appalling. Statistics show that twenty-five per cent. of the Negroes born in Washington city are illegitimate.¹

In one county in Mississippi three

¹ Washington, from the standpoint of social and educational privileges, is to the Negro the most attractive city in the United States.

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hundred marriage licenses were issued in one year for the whites. According to the population over twelve hundred should have been issued for the Negroes. As a matter of fact there were but three.

Our first step in the uplifting of the Negro will deal with this. The Negro girl must be taught to value her chastity above her life, and the Negro man to die for the sanctity of his conjugal relation. The one-room log cabin must give way to a house in which virtue and chastity will be served by the hand maidens of privacy and cleanliness. Then ideas of morality will have a chance; and as pictures find a place on the walls, where privacy has gotten a chance in the room, lime and paint will cleanse and beautify, and the rotten couch of incest will be burned on the funeral pyre of disease

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and filth. For so long as Negro children are bred and fattened as hogs in a pen, the filth of the swine will be in their nature and the curse of their immorality in our social order. Not only must we take the Negro as he is if we are to do him any good, but we must consider his environment. Race antagonism handicaps the Negro to-day politically, industrially, socially; and all our efforts will be futile unless this inborn hostility between the races is recognized. The Negro will have to live this hostility down, and the white man must help him do it.

INDUSTRIAL EDUCATION

1. In view of these facts, the first thing which the Negro needs is to recognize the worth and dignity of manual labor. The Negro in Africa is a failure because he detests manual toil. He despises the use of tools, and so he has never been either

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the inventor or user of them. This antipathy to work which he inherited from his African ancestor has been fostered in the American Negro by the example of the slave-owner. Here lies the secret of the Negro's benighted condition. He has never been as a race the inventor and user of tools, the two things which have ever measured human progress.

It is only the user of tools who ministers helpfully to his own and his brother's need. Work is the chisel that shapes character and sharpens wit, while idleness is the mother of vice.

The Negro's first great need, then, is to take his place in the army of toilers. To make out of himself what he ought to be, to put a capable ministry in his hand, to sharpen his wit, to purify his heart, and to make a place for himself in our social and industrial order, where he will

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be valued, not as an object of philanthropy or a dummy in politics, but for what he is worth, the Negro must go to work.

This calls for two things:

(1.) An industrial education for the Negro himself. Hand training must ever precede intellectual culture. No race has ever founded universities and built art galleries and mothered poets and orators, till it had learned to cut down trees and till the soil and build homes and sail ships. Human progress has ever rooted itself in the mastery and tillage of the soil.

Our nation was lavish with its millions to teach the Negro Latin and Greek when he was not ready for it. Experience has shown us our mistake. The blunder, however costly to the white man and the Negro, will have been well made if it

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will only spur us to a like expenditure to teach the Negro to work with his hands, to give him an industrial education.

To teach the black man how to make brick and build them into solid and stately walls, how to forge iron and build it into strong and labor-saving machinery, how to till the soil and take a pride in its cultivation and ownership, how to build a house and create in it a home where love is pure and the conjugal bed inviolable, and the trust of childhood sacred,—here lies our first step in the solution of the Negro problem.

(2.) But consider the second one. The Negro must be taught the dignity of labor and how to labor; but he must also be given a chance to labor. Open to him the door of the trades, and then give him a chance to work at his trade.

Next to the curse of an immoral home

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for his childhood nurture, the Negro's greatest handicap to-day meets him in the labor world. The black man is barred from most of the trades to-day by the ban of the labor union. As a slave, the Negro was allowed to work at any trade for which he showed an aptitude, but even the places of freight-handler and brick-mason and teamster and carpenter, as well as the crafts of finer workmanship, are closed against him in most places to-day by the ban of the union. It is an unrighteous ban. What body of preachers would forbid a capable black man from preaching, or lawyers from his practicing law, or physicians from his practicing medicine.

If the Negro's first step to enlightened manhood is to get and live by an industrial education, the white men of the United States must see to it that there is

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written for him a full bill of rights in the labor world.

HIGHER EDUCATION

2. But the Negro needs more than an industrial education to lift him to peerage with the white man. This will but lay the foundation of his progress. As industrial education proceeds, multiplied cases will be developed that are worthy of something higher. These must have an open door to the higher education for which they show themselves fitted. It would be as great a crime to blight the body of a babe with poison as to kill the poetical genius which God puts in a Paul Lawrence Dunbar or the scholarly ability in a William Du Bois or the masterly qualities in a Booker T. Washington, by shutting against them the door of the college and university.

It is a minor matter whether the blacks

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and whites go to the same educational institution, but it is a vital matter that the white man see that the Negro who is capable of receiving it should be given opportunities of education equal to those of any white boy.

The same sense of right which calls for a higher education for the Negro who is capable of receiving it, should also determine the matter of entrusting the Negro with the franchise, and a host of other questions of a similar character. If it was a wrong to our country and to the Negro himself to put the franchise in the Negro's hands before he was ready to exercise it, it would be an even greater wrong, both to our country and the Negro, to withhold it from him when he is capable of using it wisely.

THE BLACK MAN'S RELIGION

3. The third great need of the Negro deals directly with his religious life. The

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black man is religious by nature, but his religion spends itself in emotionalism. The Ten Commandments are not a part of his creed when it comes to daily life. The Negro preacher, who is always the most influential leader among the Negroes, is not seldom notoriously immoral. This condition of things must be changed before high regard for morality can be inculcated in the Negro as a race. So long as their religious natures are swayed by men who take to preaching to escape the cotton field, for which they are better fitted; and so long as many Negro preachers live notoriously immoral lives and even use their pastoral relations for immoral purposes, we can never expect to inculcate a high moral standard in the race. To overcome this difficulty, the white denominations must establish and control the schools for training Negro preachers and themselves

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carefully select the candidates accepted. The training of this ministry should begin in childhood, and lay the foundations of industrial education for the classical and theological, so that when they go forth to preach, they will be capable of a leadership such as the race needs.

These are the lines along which both past experience and the voices of the great leaders of the race itself are calling us. Mutual recrimination and sectional distrust have crippled us too much in the past. The time has come for emotionalism and hysteria and sectional abuse to be put aside, for us to be honest and considerate of each other, and fair to the Negro.

As the years of this new century roll by, may this great problem of to-day find a happy and full solution; and may the closing years of this twentieth century

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find a generation standing in our places, to whom the Negro has become a blessing instead of a burden, and who can look back and see in us a generation of their forefathers who solved one of the century's hardest problems by doing a Christian's duty to "our brother in black."

THE LABOR QUESTION

*“One monster there is in this world, the
idle man!”*

THOMAS CARLYLE.

CHAPTER II

THE PROBLEM OF LABOR AND CAPITAL

THE United States to-day is practically in a state of industrial insurrection. Chicago, with its enormous foreign and industrial population, giving birth to some new labor trouble every morning, and seldom passing through a week which does not see thousands of laborers go on a "strike," may be the storm center; but from every quarter of our land come tidings of trouble, often acute, between the laborer and his employer, and often it is accompanied with brutal violence and bloodshed. Even staid old Philadelphia

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has joined the ranks; for there but recently nearly one hundred thousand textile workers went out with demands which the operators declared they would stay closed for years before they would grant. We are prone to think of this situation as peculiar to our times, and as largely caused by the organization of Labor unions and the fomenting of discontent among laborers by walking delegates, who do it to keep an easy job.

Whatever may be the cause, industrial troubles are as old as organized Labor; and organized Labor flourished in New Testament days under Roman rule, as truly as now. Artisans of that day when the Apostle Paul was a tent-maker were closely affiliated under different guilds, and even sat together in their places of worship.

THE LABOR QUESTION

THE INTERESTED PARTIES

The solution of these troubles, it may seem at first glance, should be left to the parties directly interested, the discontented laborer and the capitalist who employs him. But consider what interests are involved and what parties are affected by Labor troubles.

First, they tend to injure the particular industry concerned. A strike produced by general discontent and unrest in a given industry makes outside capital wary of investing in it, decreases the output, and often introduces the consumer of it to a temporary substitute which takes its place permanently. Without doubt, for example, the recent strike in anthracite coal mining led thousands to discontinue permanently the use of anthracite coal, because necessity led them to a good substitute in certain grades of bituminous coal.

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Second, they tend to injure the operator of the industry. His capital lies idle and unproductive. His trade goes to other places. His working force, gathered in many cases after years of careful selection and training, is disintegrated, often irrecoverably scattered. His plant, erected perhaps at enormous expenditure, by lying idle and often through the violence of strikers and their sympathizers, suffers a ruinous damage.

Third, they tend to injure the laboring man. His loss of wages is always the largest financial damage connected with a strike; and the burden of it falls most on his already hard-worked wife and hungry children. If the housewives went on a strike when the Labor unions voted one, and if the picture of pale-faced children, and mortgaged cottages and pawned keepsakes and evicted families could be kept

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before those interested, the strike would seldom be voted.

But worse than this financial loss, and the poverty and hunger which it means, are the habits of discontent and dissipation into which days of idleness and brooding over real or fancied wrongs cause the Laboring man to drift.

But fourth, and worst, because most unjust to all, it plays havoc with the interests of the suffering public. Things have reached such a stage that we are often uncertain whether we live in a land of peace and liberty or in a state of barbarity. The commonest services of everyday life are often absolutely refused, or done with such a surly spirit that the day is robbed of its serenity. A teamster brings a box to the home of two old ladies and sets it on the doorstep. "Will you please set it inside out of the

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wet for us," they ask him. "No, Miss, we counts this a delivery." "But will you not set it in for us? We have no man about the house to do it." "Very sorry, Miss, but the union don't allow it."

And when we enquire into the matter, we find that when Albert Young, the president of the Teamsters' union, was a teamster, many a business proprietor would refuse him help in unloading his boxes, though they sometimes weighed eight hundred pounds. So the union has put up its guard, and the public must pay for it.

It has come to such a pass in Chicago, for example, that one cannot be sure of a clean shirt for the next day or of tidy bed-linen for the night; or whether the butcher can send you the meat for dinner or the cook be found in the

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kitchen and the gas in the range to cook it; when the mother cannot be sure her boy will get the Thanksgiving or Christmas box from home because it must await the uncertain ministry of the freight handlers.

Thus Labor troubles have involved all of us, and a solution of them is not only of universal interest but is something which an outraged and long-abused public is beginning to demand.

THE SEARCH FOR A SOLUTION

Where shall we find a solution for this problem? What good angel of light will take us by the hand and lead us out of this valley of violence and hatred, of strife and bloodshed, into the fair fields of industry and peace and fraternal prosperity?

The answer will be found in a word of Jesus of Nazareth. Our industrial world

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must take up the cry of our religious thinkers, "Back to Christ!" Sitting at the feet of Him who spoke with authority to Gadarene devils and stilled with a word the raging of the sea, we shall hear a message, sufficient in wisdom and power and eminently just and fair, for our troubled world of industry.

This is the message of Christ, the King of the Labor world:

"AS YE WOULD THAT MEN SHOULD DO TO YOU, DO YE ALSO TO THEM LIKEWISE."

This is His word for both laborer and capitalist. Put yourself in the other man's place, and treat him as you would like for him to treat you.

Capitalist, think of yourself as penniless, and dependent on your daily wage for your own and your children's bread; and treat your laborer as you would wish to be treated.

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Laboring man, put yourself in the place of your employer. Try to realize the burden of responsibility that presses on the head of a great industry; of how he must make profit for investors, give employment to his laborers, make a success of his business; and be fair. Deal with him as you would be dealt by.

THE MESSAGE OF THE LABOR KING

In the light of this great sociological principle of the Carpenter of Nazareth, let us face our present industrial condition and draw up a "Bill of Rights" and a "Bill of Wrongs."

THE BILL OF RIGHTS

If this is a free country, and we are a Christian people, the following rights must be accorded:

1. The right of every man to earn his living by honest labor and of every employer to get his laborers for an honest

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wage, regardless of their relation to other organizations.

2. The right of thrift, industry, skill, integrity to rise above shiftlessness, waste, dishonesty, intemperance. We recognize as a good law of nature that a sound tree has a better right to live than a rotten one, that a diseased body has a right to less of life than a sound one. It is but the same law in another sphere that demands for the honest, hard working, frugal laborer the right to rise in the scale of wages and being above those who are ruled by the opposite vices.

3. The right of laborers to organize for their mutual profit, and the right of capitalists to do the same, provided they preserve a due regard for the rights of each other and of the outside public.

4. The right of laborers to refuse to work for an employer who will not com-

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ply with reasonable demands as to hours, wages and sanitary conditions; and their right, if they so desire, to do this concertedly.

5. The right of every owner of a business to conduct it as he sees fit, within the laws of the state.

6. The right of those who participate in making profits to share in their division.

THE BILL OF WRONGS

On the other hand, if this is a free country and we are a Christian people, the following things are wrong:

1. It is wrong to refuse to let another man work under certain conditions because you are unwilling to work there yourself. But this recognizes the right of the "strike-breaker," it will at once be objected, the most execrated of all things to the Labor union. Without a doubt; but consider

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what it means. It is only the right of every man to go into the market of the world and get his labor or his laborers, as we claim the right to go into a town market and buy where we choose our meats and vegetables. The opposite position nullifies all liberty. Let us illustrate it with the case of a church seeking a pastor. The church calls a man, but he demands a salary of ten thousand dollars. The preachers are organized into a union. The church says, "We cannot pay that salary; it strains us to pay less than half that much." The Preacher's Union answers, "You must take this man and pay him what we say, or you can have no preacher at all." Would we put up with that method in our ecclesiastical affairs?

Or suppose the physicians had a union, and when your child fell desperately ill, the physician to whom you applied, would

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answer, "You must pay me fifty dollars or I will not go to see your child?" and suppose the Physicians' Union should say, "You must take this doctor and meet his price, or go without a doctor." Would we put up with such conduct in our physicians?

The wrong is no less iniquitous when it comes to the matter of Labor.

Turn the thing around, say that the employer has the right to set arbitrarily the price of labor and say to the laboring man, "You must work for this price and for me or you cannot work at any price for any other employer?" That would be confiscation of Labor. The other is confiscation of capital; and one is as bad as the other.

2. It is wrong for an employer to discriminate against a laborer simply because he is a member of a Labor union. Sub-

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stitute racial affinity or the color of his skin for membership in the union, and the wrong of it at once appears.

Of course, if it can be shown that the influence of the union militates against his efficiency as a workman, it becomes another matter. But personal character and ability should determine a workman's acceptability to an employer, and nothing else.

3. It is wrong to demand that the industrious and skilled worker shall get no better wages from his employer and no better appreciation from his union, than the worthless and lazy, or even the indifferent.

4. It is wrong to seek to injure the person or to persuade others to damage the business or property of a man because he employs organized or unorganized Labor. The union man who tries to in-

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jure the non-union plant by boycott or otherwise is sinning against the brotherhood of man and the justice of God. Turn it around. Suppose that most plants and their laborers were non-union, and the non-union majority tried to destroy the union plant and its workmen, would it be right?

5. It is wrong to withhold from Labor a fair proportion of the profits which it helps to make. It is confessedly because of real or fancied injustice here that most strikes occur. They abound in periods of prosperity when the Laborer feels he is not getting his share of the increased profits.

6. It is wrong to set wages above either work or character. The laborer who is so engrossed with the amount of his wage that he loses pride in the quality of his work, and the employer who regards and

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treats his laborers only as so many "hands," so much "man power" which he buys, are both wrong.

Few things are more needed in the Labor world than a better understanding and a more intimate relation between the laborer and his employer. At present they are arrayed against each other, in many cases in bitter hostility. They live in different localities, have no social or religious contact, cherish no interest in each other's personal welfare. There is usually to be found a striking contrast between the feeling of the manual laborers of an industry and that of the clerical force for the heads of the concern. The latter speak of it as "our firm," and take more or less pride in its success and reputation. The laboring men look on it, often with bitterness, as a vampire which is sucking out their life-blood. It is a common

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thing for the clerical force in some of the big packing houses of Chicago voluntarily to take the places of the lusty packers who have gone on a strike, to help their house get out some pressing orders. The difference of feeling has invariably been found to be due to the difference in the personal relations which the heads of the firm sustain towards the two classes.

TWO INDICTMENTS

If these "rights" and "wrongs" be recognized as a basis on which to proceed, we must draw up two indictments.

First of all, we must indict the employer, and there will be three counts in his indictment.

1. For discriminating against union Labor. Few business concerns have failed to do it, until the union became so strong that they had to recognize it. It is notorious that for years the union man

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was the special object of his employer's hostility, and the organization of the laborers of an industry was fought by the heads of it, at times by measures that were drastic. This hostility must be put aside if the employer is ever to win the confidence of Labor. The most ignorant laborer has found that there is strength in union, and he can see no other purpose in the employer's hostility to the union than to "divide and destroy."

2. For withholding from their laborers, until held up for it by a threatened or actual strike, a fair share in their increased profits. Wages have been raised, as a rule, only when demanded by the wage-earners, and often after long controversies and strikes. There have been some notable exceptions to this; and it is strange that the influence on his workmen of an employer voluntarily increasing their

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wages has not caused more employers to win their workmen's confidence and esteem this way.

3. They have uniformly and woefully failed to take any personal interest in the social and religious betterment of their employees. There have been some notable exceptions to this. Chief among which has been the work of many railroads in providing quarters for the work of the Young Men's Christian Association among their employees. The ease with which arbitration of disputes became successful is so co-existent with this movement as to give to it the credit, as much as to that splendid leader among railroad men, Mr. P. M. Arthur.

Many employers fail of their duty here simply because they do not know how to go about it, or have seen the disastrous failure of some who have attempted it in

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a blundering, patronizing way. But it can be done, and most successfully, as some notable instances will show.

One of the most famous of these is connected with the Krupp foundries, at Essen, in Rhenish, Prussia. The erection of model dwellings for the employees began as early as 1861, and with the fund of two and one-half per cent. which has been their net income, other buildings are being constantly erected. The co-operative store is managed by the firm, but the profits are distributed among the purchasers in proportion to their purchases. The unmarried employees have a boarding establishment for their convenience, and the health of the workmen is cared for with a hospital, a bath-house, and a corps of regularly employed physicians.

A notable instance of the employer winning his workmen's confidence by his

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personal interest in them may be found in our own country in the National Cash Register Factory, at Dayton, Ohio. The moving motive in the matter was to make such conditions as would produce the very best type of workmen. The men were put on a day of nine and one-half hours, but the women's day was only eight hours, not only allowing for the woman's lesser endurance, but enabling them to avoid the crowd of men in reaching and leaving the factory. The women were also allowed a recess of ten minutes in the morning and afternoon. It is not surprising to find that the girls who work in the factory are of a very intelligent type, and additions are now made to the working force only from graduates of the High School. No attempt is made to control the dwelling-places of the workmen, but great stress is put on cleanliness. Even the work-

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rooms of the foundry are made attractive. Not only are free baths provided, but each employee is allowed twenty minutes out of the company's time to make use of them. The company also provides a library and reading room, a lunchroom and bicycle sheds, and a rest room for the girls. The beautifying of the homes is most effectively accomplished by offering two hundred and fifty dollars in prizes for the best front yards, the best back yards, the finest examples of vine-planting, and the best vegetable garden which has been cultivated by a boy. Special instructions given in cooking and domestic science, and literary, musical, and social organizations are also carried on by both the men and women of the factory. In spite of all these things, the operatives organized themselves, and Mr. Patterson found a strike on his hands. From their point of

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view, these things were of minor importance. Mr. Patterson calmly considered the matter, and instead of growing sore over the ingratitude of his workmen, and entering into a stubborn fight with them, he recognized that the Labor union was inevitable and went about to make the best of it. This he did by creating a Labor department and committing to it the investigation of any complaints from the men, and to take up with the workmen all such subjects as the restriction of output, the discharge of inefficient workmen, unjust wage demands, and opposition to improved machinery. The result of the whole has been such an increase of mutual confidence and common interest between the employer and his workmen as most heartily to commend his spirit and method.

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THE PULLMAN FIASCO

In striking contrast with this experience of Mr. Patterson at Dayton, was the case of Mr. Pullman in the establishment of his town near Chicago. There, on a plat of five hundred acres, the sleeping car magnate erected not only the Pullman shops, but a hotel, churches, a library, an arcade and brick tenement houses. The company also provided for the employees a water supply, a system of sewers, and even an athletic field. When, in spite of all this, the residents of "Pullman" voted annexation to Chicago and went out on their famous strike, Mr. Pullman thought them grossly ungrateful, and the public was pointed to the town as another instance of the futility of an employer attempting to win the devotion and confidence of his workmen by kindness.

But an investigation showed up the

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matter in a different light. It was found that the company always charged the men the ruling prices for the use of any privileges, often a little more; the very streets of the town were owned in fee simple by the company; many workmen preferred to live outside of the town to being under the iron hand of the company in one of its tenement houses; and even the churches and parsonages were found lying idle because worshippers were not found who were willing to pay the rental. The only apparent philanthropy about the matter, was when the state authorities issued a mandate for the Pullman Company to go out of the real estate business, a thing which is now in course of execution.

With these two object lessons before us, it is very easy for the average employer who wishes to win the confidence and devotion of his workmen by personal

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interest in their welfare and betterment, to ponder the ways of Mr. Patterson and Mr. Pullman and learn how.

THE INDICTMENT AGAINST LABOR

But in the majestic presence of these rights and wrongs, we must also draw up an indictment against the Labor organization; and there will be three counts in it:

First, for its attempt to prevent a non-union laborer from working under conditions which the union refuses. The violence and even the lawless brutality of many of these attempts are not only the greatest reproach to the Labor organization, but one of the most disgraceful chapters in our national history.

MR. GOMPERS' BLARNEY

Samuel Gompers, President of the American Federation of Labor, in a recent address at Buffalo, New York, made this declaration:

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“Labor organizations are conducted upon as high and as honorable a plane of morality and justice and fair dealing and equity as are any institutions on earth, and I do not except any one.”

The remoteness of this statement from the truth indicates either a stupidity unparalleled or a mendacity that is professional. There is need to cite but a few instances to justify the sharpness of this characterization. Mr. George Mulberry, Third Vice President of the *International Machinists' Union*, closes his December report in the *Journal* of January, 1903, with the following significant words about their strike against the Union Pacific Railway:

“I wish to state that this climate is not productive to the health of scabs, as quite a few have been sent back home very ill.”

The nature of this illness is learned

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when we turn to the report of the fourth vice-president of this same union, dated at Omaha, December 13, 1902, in which he says:

“The hospitals are full of scabs that got hurt at work and in fights between themselves. Four have died at Cheyenne, and one was killed at Omaha in a fight, while three or four others have been killed in the shop. The picket duty is done in a very systematic manner, and we are keeping tab on the scabs day and night. There is not a scab on the line that is not known to us now. The professionals are the only ones that stay, *and you can do only one thing with them.*”

One of the commonest examples of this brutality of Labor unions was brought before the public in the trial and conviction of the executive board and business agent of Brass Molders' Local, No. 86, of

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Chicago. "These officers employed thugs to beat up, incapacitate, assault and murder men who dared assert their right to work upon the terms they pleased. The compensation for this brutal service ranged from three dollars to seventy-five dollars, according to the degree of injury done; and the money with which to pay the heavy fines and costs imposed upon them is raised among the unions of Chicago."

Another example of this brutality was a murderous assault which was made on Calvin Phoebus and his son, at Dayton, Ohio, by members of the iron molders' local. "Five men, whose names the circumstances in the case show clearly were drawn by lot, hired a team of horses and a furniture van, and at six o'clock in the morning proceeded to the Phoebus home, just outside the city limits, backed the van

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up to the curb in front of the next house; and when the father and son started for work, these five human devils jumped from the van in which they were secreted and pounced upon the two old and faithful employees of the Callahan Company, beating them nearly to death. Detection resulted from one of the villains being shot by the elder Phoebus." These men were tried and convicted in the Court of Common Pleas. They were sentenced to heavy fines and costs, and to four months' imprisonment in the workhouse. The fines were paid by their union, a part of the high and honorable constituency of Mr. Gompers. The chief capital of a Labor union is public sympathy; and up to recent months, the sympathy of the general public has undoubtedly been on their side. But these lawless methods have about murdered it; for however

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violently the Labor union may denounce the "scab" and ostracize his family and hoot his children and even take his life, the public recognizes not only his right to existence, but is going, in some way or other, to safe-guard his person and secure to him his rights. Unless such insincere utterances as these of Mr. Gompers are replaced by a thorough-going rectification of Labor union methods in dealing with non-union plants and men, the sympathy of a public, already sorely tried, will be utterly destroyed; and worst of all, the cause of labor itself will receive an incurable hurt.

2. The second count in this indictment against Labor is for its attempt to injure not only the person of the non-union laborer but the business and property of the employer. The embodiment of this attempt is the boycott, a thing of devilish

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origin,¹ and justly denounced to-day by the fair minded public at large. But wherever you find the Labor union to-day, you find more or less of the attempt to boycott. In a recent hearing before Vice-Chancellor Pitney, of New Jersey, he uttered these words from the bench:

“Wherever you see a Labor union, you expect boycotting. The Labor unions have two methods of enforcing their demands—the boycott and the violence. Do you suppose that man would have been murdered at Waterbury yesterday if it had not been for the influence of a Labor union? Nobody believes the unions when they disclaim responsibility.

¹Our first mention of the boycott is in Revelation 13:16, 17, as one of the methods of the Beast that came up from the pit: “And he causeth all, both small and great, rich and poor, free and bond, to receive a mark in their right hand, or in their foreheads: and that no man might buy or sell, save he that had the mark, or the name of the beast, or the number of his name.”

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Nobody believed Mr. Mitchell, out in Pennsylvania, when he said that the miners' organization was not responsible for the violence there. They laugh in their sleeves at such statements." During these mining troubles, Mr. Albert Young, President of the Teamsters' Union, took the presidents of twenty teamsters' locals and called on Mayor Harrison, of Chicago. They demanded that the city buy nothing but union mined coal, hauled by union team drivers, or they would tie up immovably every piece of freight in the city; and the Mayor submitted.

One of the most reprehensible cases of this was the boycott recently attempted against the *Los Angeles Times* for its persistent opposition to organized Labor. The International Typographical Union and the American Federation of Labor,

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with its two millions of members, appropriated twenty-five thousand dollars to carry out the boycott. No member of either organization was to purchase an article from any manufacturer or dealer who advertised in this paper, and the members were to use all their influence to persuade their friends to do the same. A circular letter, reciting this fact, was sent broadcast over our country, warning all men against advertising in this paper.¹

It is true that the boycott is miserably ineffective. Even the families of the Labor unions do not live up to it. One of the most boycotted concerns in our country, to judge from the resolutions of unions, is the National Biscuit Company;

¹ One of these letters was sent to Geo. P. Bent, Manufacturer of the Crown Piano, at Chicago, and by him was shown to the writer. Mr. Bent at once replied that though he had not been an advertiser in the *Times*, he would take particular pains hereafter to do so, and added his denunciation of the boycott method.

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but the sale of their stuff goes on to laborer and capitalist as ever.

But this opposition goes even further, and has frequently destroyed the property and even taken the life of the employer. Instances of this are too common to need citation. The Labor troubles in Chicago abound with them. The Laboring man cannot hold the sympathy of the public and support his strike by the stones of the rioter and the torch of the incendiary.

The claim that this damage to property is not done by members of the union has been found over and over again to be untrue. The toughs and thugs of the city are always among the ranks, but the strikers themselves are always found forming the backbone of the mob and breathing its spirit. The moment the powers in authority assert themselves, and

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the striking laborers stay at home and conduct themselves as law-abiding citizens, the disorder ceases. A notable instance of this was the recent disorder connected with the strike at the Kellogg Switch-Board Company, of Chicago. The moment the mayor listened to the protests of the business men of the city and issued his proclamation, the strikers went to their homes and the disgraceful lawlessness ceased.

3. The third count in this indictment against organized labor is for limiting the number of apprentices in a trade and failing to classify its members according to their ability. In the first respect of this count, the union is made the destroyer of the commonest rights of human liberty and becomes a blight on the manhood of the children of its own members; and in the second respect, the union becomes

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guilty of the oft-repeated charge of "leveling down" its members.

That both of the charges are true, it is easy to show. Mr. Henry White, national secretary of the Garment Workers, of New York, makes the following statement:¹ "The limitation of apprentices can be defended for economic reasons wherever there are enough to perform the work, as those already in the trade have a right to protect their standard from being lowered through an influx of other workmen tempted by higher wages which they have upheld." It is rather surprising to find this limitation defended by Rev. Graham Taylor, who is not only at the head of Chicago Commons, but a professor in the Congregational Theological Seminary of Chicago. He is thus quoted in the *Daily News*, of

¹ In *Public Policy*, Apr. 4, 1903.

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Chicago, March 12, 1903. "Labor unions have as much right to restrict the number of apprentices in a trade as you believers in protection have in placing a protective tariff upon imported goods; or, the size of families now being a question before the public, as a man has in limiting the size of his family. Like the protective tariff, it restricts competition, and, like the small family, it permits the few to enjoy privileges and luxuries that would be beyond the reach of a larger number."

Without dwelling on the unhappiness of Prof. Taylor's Comparisons, it is enough simply to note the grounds on which such a brutality as forbidding a boy to learn a trade for which he is adapted is attempted. One of them is economic, that wages may not be lowered through the influx of more workmen; and the

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other is personal, that the workman may not be bothered with teaching an apprentice, and enjoy the privileges and luxuries that would be beyond the reach of a larger number." The first of these is utterly sordid, puts bread and butter above manhood; and the second is the same selfish sensuality that makes a married woman prefer a pet dog to a baby. With both of them God and the interests of humanity are at outs; and it is in the interests of organized labor, and all of its friends should plainly understand, that this brutal wrong, which would be visited chiefly on the working man's own children, is a hurt to the rights of man which the American public will not allow.

In answer to the charge that the union levels down its members by putting all of them on the same wage scale, the claim is made that what the union demands is a

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minimum wage, and that any member is allowed to make all possible over this. But the employer answers that this minimum wage is always the maximum wage that he can pay and keep his business going; and when men are put on piece work, the union steps in and limits the amount of work which a man shall do. This latter statement has been denied, but proof of it is abundant. *The Outlook* of March 28, 1903, published the replies of seven prominent trades-union officials to the question whether their organizations fixed either a maximum wage or a maximum output for their members. All replied that every member of their unions could get as high wages as he could bargain for, and all but one denied any limit to a workman's output during the working day. The same paper, of May 30, 1903, published some noteworthy answers. One

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writer quotes Article X from the published by-laws of Iron-Molders' union No. 8, of Albany, N. Y., Section 1: "No member of this association working *by the piece* shall be allowed to mold more than four dollars' worth in any one day or cast, and no member working by the day shall be allowed to work for less than three dollars. . . . Sec. 3. Any member convicted of violating any of the provisions of this article, shall be fined two dollars for the first offense, and *not less* than five dollars for each violation thereafter."

Another writer quotes from section 7 of the wage scale of the International Typographical Union, 190, for 1896: "No operator of a machine shall be permitted to work more than five days or nights in any one week. Provided, however, that this section shall not be in force

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during the six weeks of their apprenticeship."

This limitation of output has been a common thing for some time with British trades-unions. It is of a piece with their common failure to classify workmen; and this, perhaps, most of all has caused the degeneracy of the British workmen to a third-rate place in the industrial world. Its operation, if persisted in, will cause as sure a degeneration of the American workmen. It is a penny-wise and pound foolish policy, which leads a workman to sell his enthusiasm and all stimulus to superior achievement for an increase in the size of his loaf of bread and a piece of white cake. It is as wrong for a union to shut the door of apprenticeship against a young man as it would be for a carpenter to refuse to teach his trade to his own son; and the restriction of a workingman's

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voluntary output is as foolish as to try to limit the number of barrels of corn which one of God's rich acres of Illinois land can yield. The friends of Labor owe it to the laboring man and his offspring to persuade the union to get rid of both of these characteristics.

THE SOLUTION OF THE PROBLEM

In view of these things, there are at least three lines along which we are to find the solution of the Labor problem, all of which must be pursued in the spirit of these words of the Carpenter of Nazareth, already emblazoned as our motto.

1. *The incorporation of the Labor union and the enactment of laws governing its conduct.*

The friends of the Labor union are divided on this matter. Mr. Clarence S. Darrow, of Chicago, who acted as the attorney for the United Mine Workers in the

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anthracite coal strike, hotly denounces it: "The demand for the incorporation of trade unions is the last trench of those who oppose organized Labor. It is impudent and presumptuous. No friend of trades-unionism ever believed in it or advocated it, or called for it. It is demanded to-day by those interests and those enemies who have used every means at their command to oppose unionism, to counteract its influence and destroy it. How the Labor organizations shall manage their own affairs is not the business of the corporations, or the employers. This new demand for the incorporation of Labor unions is not only unjust and unreasonable, but it is impudent and insulting to the last degree." Now why does Mr. Darrow become so red in the face over this suggestion? He is a lawyer, and he knows that the incorporation of a

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union makes its members amenable as such to law, and makes its treasury as well as the property of its members liable for damages to property and for violation of contracts. Is it "impudent" and "outrageous" and "insulting to the last degree" in the public to make such a demand? What is the word of a Labor union worth otherwise? Take it on its honor? A man who is ruled by honor never objects to placing himself also under the reach of just law. The law is a terror only to the doer of evil. And so the matter appears to not a few of the friends of Labor. Mr. E. E. Clark, Grand Chief of the Order of Railway Conductors, recently made the following statement before the Industrial Commission:

"I think perhaps it will be some time before the idea will be generally accepted. At the same time it looks to me as if the

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logical conclusion is the incorporation of the trade unions and Labor organizations under conditions which place them on a fair basis as compared with corporations that are for a pecuniary profit or the incorporations by which the men are employed."

Before the same body, the following statement was made by Mr. G. W. Perkins, President of the Cigar Makers' International Union:

"I believe they should be incorporated. In the first place, trades-unions have nothing to hide; they are not violators of the law. . . . If incorporated, it would give us many advantages. . . . I favor being incorporated, first, because it would legalize us; second, give us more standing in the courts. We are willing to be brought into court any minute."

Add to this the testimony of the Presi-

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dent of the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers:

“I hope the time will come when the Amalgamated Association will be able to take out letters of incorporation and become a chartered institution. . . . *It will obviate the necessity for strikes; do away with the strike entirely.* It would bring the manufacturer and his employe close together, into more friendly relations. It would enable them to see that as one prospers, the other prospers; as one suffers, the other necessarily suffers also.” And then he pathetically adds what Mr. Darrow plainly showed, “Our people are not ready for it. They are not educated up to the point yet.”¹

At this point it is worth while to note also the opinion on this subject of the

¹Cf. Report of Industrial Commission, Vol. IV., p. 116, and Vol. VII., pp. 8, 171-2, 387-8.

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man, who, perhaps, most of all is fitted by ability and vocation to utter the wise word in the matter. This is the recent statement of Carroll D. Wright, the Federal Commissioner of Labor:¹

“I believe, if you will allow me to express an opinion, that trade unionism will take a very great stride in securing the respect and co-operation of the public when it desires to incorporate. There are cases where incorporation would result in success, when the acts of voluntary associations would result in failure. It would dignify the whole business, to say the least, and protect the funds and protect the members.”

In view of these, and other like statements, it is hard to find any sanity in the hot words of Mr. Darrow. They must

¹Cf. Report of Industrial Commission, Vol. IV., p. 116, and Vol. VII., pp. 8, 171-2, 387-8.

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be due either to those personal idiosyncrasies that have made him an extremist generally, or to a mind overheated with a passion for playing to the gallery of that lawless hoodlum element which still disgraces the Labor union.

The fact is, the incorporation of the Labor union looks inevitable. It is demanded by the employer. If he must deal with it in making contracts, by every law of justice, it should be made legally and financially responsible for the performance of them. Contracts with a union may be and many are to-day broken with impunity. Financial responsibility is essential to the worth of any contract.

It is demanded even more strongly by the interests of the laboring men themselves. Time and again, as they have not the least doubt, their leaders have sold them out and betrayed their in-

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terests, and scores more of them should be behind the bars with Lawrence Murphy. That they may be managed in the interest of their members, their funds be protected, their leadership lie in responsible and worthy hands, their negotiations be carried on with dignity and effectiveness, and the unions themselves have some standing in both the great court of humanity as well as the lesser civil court, the union should be incorporated and carefully controlled by law.

It is demanded by the general public. Perhaps on no other one thing does public sentiment seem to be more crystallized. For the public has grown weary of the irresponsible Labor leader, who calls a strike on or off to keep his job or fatten his purse, and of a body of even laboring men whom a strike converts into a lawless and brutal mob.

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The Labor union is here to stay. It is to be hoped so, at least. With all of its handicaps, and seldom if ever was a movement more handicapped, it has brought vast benefits to the laboring man. The greatest mistake of the employer has been to fight its existence; for his opposition to what the public recognizes as but the workingman's commonest right, has not only destroyed the workingman's confidence in his employer's sense of fairness, but put the conduct of the union under control of the worst element of Labor. This mistake will best be retrieved by the employer's giving all possible assistance in placing the union on a respectable legal and financial footing and placing the best element of Labor at its head. No fair-minded employer has much to fear from the union that is dominated by the spirit of such men as the late P. M. Arthur.

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ARBITRATION

2. The second line along which our problem must be worked out deals with the matter of *arbitration*. What place should arbitration have in the settlement of Labor troubles? And should the arbitration be voluntary or compulsory?

The first question will not need argument. Arbitration should have always the first place. There are only three possible solutions for a Labor dispute: The military, public ownership, or arbitration. Experience shows that the first two go together where the second is attempted; for it takes the presence of the army to keep order during strikes on government railways in Holland, as well as on private railroads in the United States. The only sensible thing for any dispute is the apostolic way, to arbitrate it. But, face the second question, Should this arbitration be

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compulsory and the decision of the arbitrators final? Voluntary arbitration which settles the dispute is the ideal solution; but suppose one of the parties is dissatisfied with the decision and refuses to abide by it? Make him abide by it? Shall we establish in our land, either one court, or a series of courts of appeal, which shall have the power to say to a stonemason, "You must lay stone for so much a day, or you cannot lay it at all?" Or to the owner of a team, "You must pay so much to your driver, or you must drive it yourself?"

Compulsory arbitration looks fascinating at first glance; but its principle is rotten at heart, and its application to industry is so artificial as to bring about paralysis. It is the confiscation of both the Labor and the capital arbitrated on, and it substitutes artificiality for naturalness in the adjustment of industrial rela-

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tions. An illustration of compulsory arbitration is to be found in New Zealand, and we may do well to study it there. The courts of arbitration set the prices of Labor, and the employer must pay these prices or go out of the manufacturing business, and the laborer must work for these wages or find work in some other country. The result has been, not the increase of wages, but the death of the manufacturing business in New Zealand. The manufacturers discovered that they could import the product of their factory at less cost than they could manufacture it and pay the wages fixed by the arbitration court; so they closed down their plants, ceased manufacturing, and became jobbers. This has taken place in factory after factory in New Zealand, till the sales-agent in New Zealand of an American house recently said, in speaking of the

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country: "It is a very good place to raise sheep, but as for manufacturing, it is as dead as a stinking mackerel, and prospects of its ever being anything else are forever blasted." An illustration of this took place last March in the furniture business in Auckland. The Arbitration court gave a decision increasing the wages of certain cabinet makers. The employers found themselves unable to pay the wage and simply locked their doors. Following this came the significant cable in the *London Times* that the furniture dealers of Auckland "would in the future import all the furniture required;" and the tragedy back of it is the death of the manufacture of furniture in Auckland. Suppose in the infancy of the industry, Grand Rapids and the furniture business of America had been handicapped with such a decision!

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But there is a place for arbitration. The public has the right to demand that time contracts should be made between the employer and his men, and that all disputes over these contracts must be settled by arbitration; and that no strikes shall take place during the time which these contracts cover. In addition to this, arbitration should always be the court of first resort for all disputes, and the findings of it should be disregarded only when the conditions imposed are unbearable.

PROFIT SHARING

3. But manifestly, however diligently and sincerely both capitalist and laborer may take to voluntary arbitration to settle their differences, there will arise in the future, as have arisen in the past, cases which defy all attempts at arbitration. However sincerely both sides may attempt

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to apply this great teaching of the Carpenter of Nazareth, so long as human nature remains what it is, these instances will arise. And the acutest troubles, arousing the deepest bitterness and accompanied with most brutality and lawlessness, will always be exactly those which arbitration cannot reach. Can these be reached at all? or, in such cases, must the two parties be allowed to go down into the cock-pit and fight to the finish, while the suffering public goes without its breakfast and sits up at night to guard its property?

An inseparable basis of happy relations between Labor and capital is the mutual recognition of their partnership, and implicit confidence in each other's fairness and honesty. The identity of the working man's interests with his employer's has been rubbed in so faithfully of late

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that the most stupid laborer has doubtless heard of it. Laboring men, in general, recognize that only as their employer prospers can they prosper. But not a few of them are firmly convinced that they are not coming in for a fair share of the prosperity. Without any doubt this conviction is at the bottom of nearly all Labor troubles. The thing which will remove this feeling from the heart of the laboring man will put an end to "strikes."

How can it be done? In one and only one way, by the principle of profit-sharing. "If you and I are partners," says the laborer to his employer, "let us divide the profits. And if you are willing to do the square thing, we will be exact about it and strike the balance each year in dollars and cents." The refusal to do this puts suspicion on the employer and makes all his talk about the identity of their interests

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and his willingness to give Labor its fair share of profits, hypocritical cant.

WHAT IS PROFIT SHARING?

But what do we mean by profit sharing? Not a little goes on under this name that is really farcical. Profit sharing does not mean the Christmas gift of a turkey or even of a hundred dollars to each of the workmen when the year has been specially prosperous. It means an exact distribution of profits, upon a previously agreed upon principle, and carried out according to exact mathematical calculation. The capital invested gets first its fair percentage of the earnings and the laborers their living wage and the officials their fair salary. Any profits left are to be divided proportionably between the capital and Labor. A very just principle of the distribution is that adopted, for example, by the A. S. Baker Company, near Evans-

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ville, Wisconsin. The salary of a laborer is looked on as the interest on so much capital which he has in the business; so if the percentage which the capitalist's investment should have is six per cent., a laborer who receives six hundred dollars a year is calculated for ten thousand dollars capital when it comes to the distribution of the surplus profits; and so with the salaried officials. The influence of this on the workman has been an inspiration, and the prosperity of the business, which was about to be foreclosed in 1875, has been remarkable.

The details, however, of this principle are something which each concern must determine for itself; but undoubtedly it is the feasible and fair thing for all industries. The prosperity of the concerns which have tried it and the manifest fairness and justice of the principle to all concerned,

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should commend it for speedy and universal adoption in the industrial world.¹

In some cases, like the United States Steel Company and the N. O. Nelson Company, at LeClaire, Ills., inducements are offered the men to accept their *bonus* in stocks. Should this be compulsory, the stock should be the company's preferred creditor, or become a first-mortgage bond.

BUT IF INDUSTRIES LOSE MONEY?

This principle may operate successfully, it may be answered, in times of prosperity; but what will you do when the concern is losing money? During such seasons of depression there will be no profits to divide; the workmen will be all the more willing to have their wages reduced till

¹Some of the prominent concerns in this country which have adopted the principle and carried it out successfully are: The Pillsbury Flour Mills, Minneapolis, Procter & Gamble Soap Works, at Cincinnati, Yale & Towne Lock Company, at Stamford, Conn., Bourne Cotton Mill, Fall River, Mass.

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the concern can make money; and in all cases all money lost must be remade before any surplus profits can be calculated.

THE FRENCH METHOD

Certainly this is the direction in which the successful portion of the industrial world is moving to-day. It is now in the hands of the captains of industry to take it up and establish it. If this is not done, the prospects are that, barring socialism and municipal or government ownership (from both of which we may well pray at present to be delivered), the laboring men will take the matter into their own hands, and organize their industries, perhaps, along the same lines as many of them are now organized in France. There the artisans of the different industries organize themselves into "societies," of which there are over two thousand in France, and which control their respective industries,

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sharing the profits of an industry among the members of that special "society." They elect one of their members director of the industry, and a president, who is not always chosen from the working class. The distinguished sociologist and man of letters, Leopold Mabillean, for example, is now president of the "Jean Le Claire society of Co-operation," of Paris, in which are organized the house and sign painters of that city. The director and president receive a salary, fixed by the Society. The peculiar characteristic of all is the principle of profit-sharing, and the following is an example of its operation. Every three months the director reckons the profits for the quarter of the year just passed. One-half of this amount is set aside to be distributed among the working men, the portion which each receives amounting to from

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twenty to twenty-four per cent. of his wages during the period. One-fourth of the profits goes to the chief of the industry and his collaborators in recognition of the experience and intelligence required to manage a large business. The disposition of the fourth part is a unique feature to which, the president of this society claims, is due much of the success of the whole venture. It goes to a cash insurance fund for the workmen against illness, accident, premature death and old age. In the sixty years of this society's existence, this fund has grown to the sum of twenty-five million francs, and now the interest on this fund is sufficient to pay the insurance benefits as needed.

Whatever may be the details of the plan, along this line of fair profit-sharing will be found the only complete and final solution of our Labor

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troubles. The wage question can be settled permanently in no other way, because anything short of this lays the employer open to suspicion; and this means industrial trouble. Increase of wages is but a temporary appeasement, like throwing morsels to a pack of pursuing wolves sometimes, if the laboring man will forgive the comparison; for it only serves to whet his appetite for more, and convinces him that there is something more where this came from. Even brothers will fall out over the division of dollars if they have not absolute confidence in each other's fairness and honesty. Let the employer take the laboring man into his confidence, let the partnership be carried out on the books as well as in name, let identity of interests be a working principle instead of a soothing syrup; and the peace which has ever come along with prosperity

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and vigor to the life that is ruled by the word of Jesus, will soon steal over our troubled world of industry.

Let us enthrone the spirit of Jesus Christ in our industrial world, and do to each other as we would be done by. It boots us little joy to change war for peace, to beat our swords into plough-shares and our spears into pruning-hooks, if we use the plough-shares to break each other's skulls and maim one another with the pruning-hooks. Let us learn to treat each other fairly in this matter; and He whose word stilled the raging sea will still the strife and violence that fill out great cities. The Industrial world shall be full of His peace, and the fruits of its prosperity, at whose heart there will be no worm of bitterness, shall fill the homes and gladden the lives of the millions who toil by either brain or hand.

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*“The land, through which we have gone
to search it, is a land that eateth up the in-
habitants thereof.”*

THE SCOUTS OF ISRAEL.

CHAPTER III

THE LIQUOR PROBLEM

THE Liquor question is a problem of vital interest to every nation, from the drunkards of Belgium and the reckless absinthe drinkers of Paris to the abstemious Turk. But, if for no other reason, because of climatic influences and the nervous temperament produced thereby, it is most of all a serious problem to this strenuous American nation. No temperament is so nervous and no life is so strenuous as the American; and because of this very fineness of his nervous fibre and his hot pace of life, there is no physical tem-

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perament so prone to over indulgence when the drink habit is once begun, and there is no wreck so complete and pitiful as the American drunkard.

However vitally the Liquor problem may concern other nations, it is pre-eminently a problem of deepest concern with the people of America.

When we come to consider the Liquor problem, there are two things that appal us. One is the ruin which the drink habit brings to the individual who forms it, and the other is the far-reaching and blighting effects of the Liquor interests on the welfare of our social order.

The evil effects of intemperance in the individual do not need to be retold. The picture is too common in experience for us to forget it, and to describe the wreck which it makes of the moral and spiritual nature, as well as of body and mind, has

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exhausted the speech of our orators and the pathos of our poets. The intemperate use of Liquor makes of even our goodly land of plenty and liberty "a land that eateth up the inhabitants thereof."¹ It would be but a waste of words to picture with even true vividness the deadly blight which drink has brought to our firesides and social circles; the wreckage is piled up too high before our very eyes to need words to prove that it is there. One father out of every five in our land furnishes a son for a drunkard's grave. The dark picture already fills us with unutterable sadness; and it is safe to say that our present inactivity in the matter is not due to indifference, but to that despair of bettering conditions which has come on us from the failure of past efforts to better conditions. To-day it looks as if the

¹ Numbers 13 : 32.

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majority of even Christian people had given over the matter to fanatics and cranks; and the fear of falling on the tiresome abuse of those who disagree with them appears to make most circles avoid even a discussion of the subject. "What can't be cured, must be endured," is their solacing proverb; and when they see a man go down in the maelstrom of drink, they say, "Well, if a man will make a fool of himself, he must pay the penalty."

The second thing which so appals us is the far-reaching and blighting effects of this liquor business on the welfare of our social order.

The politics of our country, both city and state are largely controlled by the liquor interests, who are ever dictating both what legislation shall be enacted and to what extent enacted legislation shall be enforced. Wendell Phillips said not long

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before his death: "The large cities of this country are governed by the saloons in their own interests;" and Lord Roseberry, ex-premier of Great Britain, said in a recent speech: "If the nation does not soon control the liquor traffic, the liquor traffic will control the nation." When the saloon is robbed of its power, a mighty stride will have been taken in the purification of politics.

An evil under which especially our urban population is groaning today is the burden of enormous taxation; and the attempted evasion of it by the wealthy has become one of the moral disgraces of our urban life. This enormous taxation is required somewhat for material improvements, but the bulk of it goes to protect property, to support penitentiaries and jails, and to maintain criminal courts. The prevention of an intemperate use of

liquor promises to remove the bulk of this burden; for according to the statistics of Hon. Carroll D. Wright, the highest authority in our land on this subject, "ninety-two per cent. of our crime is the result of intoxicating liquors."

It is also the mother of most of the vice that curses our land. It directly furnishes our asylums with twenty-five per cent. of our insane, and fifty per cent. of all our idiots and imbeciles are the offspring of drunkards.

It is of supreme moment in determining the longevity of life. Ever and anon we are hearing of the octogenarian who has been an inveterate user of tobacco and whiskey from youth. Most of them are run down as newspaper canards, but some of them are real. Statistics indicate that the real cases might have been nonagenarians or centenarians had they left whisky

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and tobacco alone. The British Registrar-General has published a table of the comparative mortality of men, from twenty-five to sixty-five years of age, the inquiry covering a period of three years. The standard of one hundred was taken as the lowest death-rate, the most healthful class, and these are his results: Inn-keepers and liquor dealers represented a mortality of 274; inn or hotel service, 397; and brewers, 245; while farmers are put down at 114, gardeners at 108, and ministers at 100. Between 1880 and 1890, there were in the United States 21,384 deaths from yellow fever, and 650,000 deaths from alcohol; yet we license alcohol and quarantine yellow fever.

Then there is the great problem of every age, the problem of poverty and the unemployed. What is the great cause of poverty, as well as of crime?

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What keeps the laboring man poor? The drink bill of Great Britain last year was nearly nine hundred millions of dollars, and that of the United States was in the neighborhood of one and a quarter billions of dollars. Belgium has a liquor shop for every thirty-nine of its inhabitants. Now the larger part of this is paid out of the scant earnings of those who, from the very nature of their occupation, are the unemployed during a large portion of the year. Dr. E. R. L. Gould has published statistics which show that the saloon keepers receive from the laboring classes in the five leading countries of the world three-fifths as much as the landlords. The poverty of the laboring classes is largely the product of drink. What should be saved to set up a business of his own he foolishly carries to the till of the saloon keeper. Eighteen

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thousand men marched through the streets of Chicago one day, and on a banner at the head of their procession was this sad and startling inscription, "Our children cry for bread!" The procession, after its march through the city, moved to a grove where it rested—and drank fourteen hundred kegs of beer! No wonder "Our children cry for bread."

Doubtless there are many inequalities in our present social and industrial order which need to be righted, but one of the first steps will be taken toward securing peace in the industrial world when the liquor shop is closed and the laboring man spends his leisure hours with his wife and children, and saves a part of his wages. The vital difference to-day is not between the man who receives high wages and the man who is paid too little, but between the man who has earned his money and laid it up,

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in savings banks or a home, and the man who has earned his money and might have laid it up, but chose to spend it for whisky and tobacco.

In the face of these things, it is not to be wondered at that this problem looms up so big before the eyes of philanthropists and social reformers, that they often lose sight of other questions and their ardor for the abolition of the whiskey traffic becomes fanatical.

Lord Wolseley did not speak too strongly in his famous address to the Soldiers' Good Templars' Lodge in Belfast garrison: "There are yet some great battles to be fought, some great enemies to be encountered, by the United Kingdom, but the most pressing enemy is drink. It kills more than all our newest weapons of warfare, and not only destroys the body, but the mind and soul."

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But the most discouraging thing about the problem is the seemingly utter inability of the students of it to agree on a cure for the trouble. It is the most fruitful of all themes for a newspaper symposium, for every writer differs from every other, and the whole has a kaleidoscopic variety that dazzles the vision and defies classification.

THE HISTORY OF THE PROBLEM

The history of the temperance question, like the history of all other progress which man has made, shows a series of blunders and corrections, a process of education through experience.

When the evil of intemperance first began to be felt, the watchword of Christian men was *moderation*. Drunkenness is disgraceful. Be able to walk to bed on your own legs and keep yourself out of the gutter. It brought a great

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advance on the disgraceful order of gluttonness and wine-bibbing which preceded it, but it did not touch the root of the evil. The traveling preacher still carried his bottle in his saddle bags, the children of the household got their first lessons in drunkenness from the bottom of their father's mint-julep glass, and the great army of hopeless drunkards continued to be constantly recruited from the ranks of the moderate drinkers.

Then followed the noble crusade of the *teetotalers*. Moderate drinking could never cure the evil, for few men were able to preserve the moderation; so they went at the awful curse with moral suasion and the pledge of total abstinence. It was a day of noble service and grand eloquence, one of the great periods in our nation's history. Such men as John B. Gough brought the pledge to the front and made

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the welkin ring with the manly word of the apostle, "If meat make my brother to offend, I will eat no meat while the world stands." But even the moral suasion of a torn and bleeding world, pictured in the moving eloquence of the world's most gifted orators, and accompanied with the plaintive cries of broken-hearted wives and starving children and wrecked manhood, failed to uproot the curse. It put on the brakes, but it could not throw the demon of destruction from the track. Topers signed the pledge, and many of them sacredly kept it, but, as some one put it, "Toper factories still prospered." The reformers spent their time in tossing life-preservers to the drowning victims of intemperance, but the dram shops, entrenched further up the river behind the earth-works of civil protection, were throwing in fresh

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victims faster than the reformers could rescue them.

Then came the important step of repressive legislation, and the friends of temperance set about securing the enactment of laws which would make it possible to abolish the manufacture and sale of Liquor. The Liquor interests met this with the cry, "You cannot make people moral by law," and fought the legislation as an infraction of the constitution. The friends of temperance answered, "You can protect society by law," and their victory in the civil courts established the constitutionality of a law which gave the community itself the right to say whether Liquor should be sold in it. So the principle of prohibition, however men regarded its practicability, gained its right to existence both in the court of public opinion and before the civil court.

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Then came the greatest blunder, perhaps, which the friends of temperance ever made, the identification of the principle of extermination with a political party. It was a very natural blunder, but it was no less fatal, handicapping the solution of this question with a multitude of other questions about which men will always differ, from protective tariff and female suffrage to questions of currency, and taking up the cudgel against the individual's innate devotion to his political party. Since that ill-fated hour, the cause of righteousness against the Liquor traffic has steadily lost ground; and to-day it is the firm conviction of the average Christian man that the work of routing the Liquor traffic through the organization known as the "Prohibition Party" is as hopeless as battering down Gibraltar with a child's toy pistol.

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SOME PROPOSED REMEDIES

Keeping this history in mind, let us consider some of the remedies which are proposed.

PROHIBITION

1. The first, and the most natural answer, is Prohibition. If Liquor brings such a brood of curses to our land, let us cast it out. It may be useful in the arts, good for medicine, and may be safely used by many in moderation. But if it curses our land thus, we pay too highly for it. Abolish both its sale and manufacture.

This is the position of a majority of the voters in some of our states, and so we have seen for over a quarter of a century State Prohibition on trial. The result, though stoutly defended by many of the friends of temperance, has not been a marked success. The sentiment has never been so overwhelmingly in favor of the law

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and so permeative of the whole state, as to make the law thoroughly operative. The traveller in any prohibition state who wants whiskey boasts that he can get it; and the evasions of the law are winked at by even a large class of those who are not consumers of whiskey. Prohibition can never be a success in a state, or in any large territory, until public sentiment is overwhelmingly and ardently in favor of it. The history of the movement does not show that such has been the case in our country. This weakness of public sentiment cannot be charged, it seems, to either ignorance or depravity, but to a feeling that the principle of prohibition is not in accord with the spirit of Christian civilization. Character must be built up through the exercise of free choice; and to get a man to do right, in this or any other matter, because of external necessity, be-

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cause a power outside of him takes away even the opportunity of doing wrong, while needful in the training of children, can never be looked on as the ideal conditions for producing a sturdy manhood. Righteousness is this much stronger than innocence. The individual is never safe till the innocence of childhood has developed into the righteous character of mature life, and this comes to the sons of men, as it came to the Son of Man, in that severe school of choice which we call temptation.

If it be argued that the very need of our nation is something to protect our children from the fascinations of the saloon, and something that will remove temptation from the way of those who though of maturer years are yet so weak that it is the duty of the stronger to see that they are not tempted, it may be

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answered that this may be found in some method more feasible and successful than the past has shown State Prohibition to be.

HIGH LICENSE

Another solution which is in great favor with the rank and file to-day is High License, especially when this is accompanied with legislation which limits the saloon to a certain number of inhabitants. Without doubt "High License" has a number of commendable features. A model law of this kind was enacted twenty years ago in the state of Illinois, and the betterment which it brought to that state has caused the enactment of the same or a similar law in Wisconsin, Minnesota, South Dakota, Iowa, Nebraska, Kansas, Missouri, Texas, Michigan, Indiana, Ohio, Pennsylvania, New York, Massachusetts and New Jersey. What these commendable features are may be seen in a recent article

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by William H. Harper, author of the Illinois High License Law. He claims that this twenty years' test of the law shows the following results:

“Saved the city of Chicago from bankruptcy.

“Added nearly \$50,000,000 to the treasury funds of Chicago.

“Collected over \$100,000,000 from the saloons to pave, light, police, and improve Chicago and other Illinois cities and towns.

“Drove thousands of the worst saloons in the state out of business.

“Killed the saloon question as a political issue.”

These results are of two kinds, financial and political. If the saloon has been killed in Chicago, or elsewhere in the United States, as a political issue, it certainly is a lively corpse.

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As to the financial side of the results, the law, which permits any community to fix the price of a license as high as it sees fit (it was raised in Chicago from \$52 to \$500 per year), naturally had the effect of reducing the number of saloons and of increasing the city's income from licenses; but over against the \$52,000,000 which the saloon has brought into the city's treasury, we must put the \$50,000,000 which the city has spent on its police, and the even larger amount which it has spent on its criminal courts and jails; for we must not forget that statistics show that ninety-two per cent of our crime is the direct result of intoxicating liquors. High License and the restriction of the number of saloons is far ahead of low license, but it is only mildly repressive at best, and, as Mr. Harper boasts, gives the Liquor business a sort of semi-respectability.

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That it has to any extent "solved the Liquor problem," either in Chicago or in any other place that has tried it, not even its most partisan advocate would dare to claim. As a repressive or palliative measure, it cannot be compared with Prohibition even in those states which have most winked at the law's infraction.

FREE WHISKEY

At the other extreme from high license is "Free Whiskey." Remove all tax on its manufacture and all restrictions as to its sale, make whiskey as free as water, and you have done the most that can be done, it is argued, to rob it of its baneful influence. The prohibitory measures with which its manufacture and sale are surrounded only add to its fascination, especially to that outlawed class of our social order with whom its use becomes most pernicious. Take the money out of

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it, and you have removed all inducement for men to traffic in it; and, gradually, it will take its place with coffee or morphine on the shelf of grocer and druggist, and the excesses of its use will disappear. What "Free Whiskey" would mean may be seen in the alarming tendency to cocaine and morphine habits when the sale of these drugs is unrestricted. The same thing which makes us cage lions, and keep razors and poisons out of the reach of children and lunatics, warns us to throw safeguards of some kind about the manufacture and sale of Liquors.

LOCAL OPTION

One of the most popular remedies, and one of the most effective in certain localities, is Local Option. It is prohibition in a small territory. A precinct, township, county or town, or even part of a great city, is given the right to say by a major-

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ity vote whether or not Liquor shall be sold there. The effectiveness of this, which is due to the smaller territory covered, making it possible not only to have a sentiment overwhelmingly in favor of the law, but to detect, through individual alertness of the citizens themselves even more than by paid police, attempted infraction of the law, has given it wide commendation. While the method has been a failure in many small towns, due to weakness of sentiment in its favor, it has been a pronounced success in rural districts and even in residence sections of large cities. A notable example of the latter is to be found in Hyde Park, a favorite residence section now in the heart of Chicago, and covering a thickly populated area, about three miles long and one mile wide, where the prohibition of the sale of Liquor is effectively enforced.

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Local option has made rapid headway of late in the South. One hundred and thirty counties in Texas have lately voted in favor of total prohibition, and fifty-nine for partial prohibition, leaving only fifty-seven counties in the state where Liquor is sold without restriction. In Tennessee, out of 5,500 cities and towns, only eight have the unrestricted sale of Liquor. In Virginia, Richmond and Norfolk are the only important cities without prohibition. In Georgia, one hundred and three out of one hundred and thirty-seven counties are prohibition. The movement is also sweeping over North Carolina. So rapidly has local option spread over the South that to-day it is claimed there are more saloons in the one state of New York than in all the states south of the Ohio river, including Arkansas and Louisiana, the figures being thirty-four

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thousand as against twenty-seven thousand.

The significance of this is unmistakable. It shows the success of local option, or of prohibition for small sections of territory, for the township and the small town. It is the ideal and the only way in which to make an effective prohibition state; capture the territory first by small parcels through the use of local option.

LOCAL OPTION FAILS IN THE CITY

But what shall be done in those large towns and in our great cities like New York and Chicago and Philadelphia and St. Louis, where local option has been an utter failure, where the population have always had Liquor shops and are determined, whatever laws may be enacted by the state legislature, still to have them? We attempt the creation of a temperance sentiment in vain, for the population is in

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most cases too shifting, or, because of its foreign character, too isolated, to allow the influence to be exerted.

STATE CONTROL

The answer is to be found in *state control*, and the details of the method are to be had in a combination of the Göthenburg system, now working so effectively in Norway and Sweden, and the Dispensary Law of South Carolina.

The Göthenburg system may be briefly described thus:

A company of philanthropic persons, who are the friends of temperance, is given a monopoly of the Liquor business in the municipality adopting the system. It pays for license double the amount paid by individual saloon keepers formerly, and takes out not more than one license to every two thousand people (the limitation at present, in Massachusetts,

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for example, is one to five hundred in Boston and one to one thousand elsewhere). This company receives as profits only four per cent, on the money actually invested. All additional profits are to be applied to objects of public utility, libraries, reading and smoking and lounging rooms, social halls where Liquor is not sold, and the like.

This company's object shall be to sell as little Liquor as possible, operating under legislation which limits the hours, prevents sale to minors and drunkards, allows no Liquor to be drunk on the premises, and sells only the purest of Liquors.

This law which began operation in Sweden in 1865, though handicapped by the fact that there were many inn-keepers through the country who possessed irrevocable life-tenure licenses, and also that

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the law excepted wine, beer and ale from its operation, wrought a revolution in that land in the amount of drunkenness, and is to-day operating as an untold blessing to a land which forty years ago rivalled even Belgium in its drunkenness. Learning from their experience, the friends of the system are extending its scope to include wine, beer and ale, in which an enormous trade has sprung up, and to which most of the present drunkenness in the land is attributed. When these milder liquors are put under control of the "Samlags," the system will multiply in effectiveness.

THE DISPENSARY SYSTEM

To not a few of the good people of our country, South Carolina is not regarded as the best of states to foster good government; but she is without doubt setting the world a splendid object lesson in her Dispensary System. The adoption of it

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was a great surprise to the people themselves, for it was put up merely as a bait by one of the political parties, to catch the temperance vote.

The system may be briefly described as follows:

The state itself takes entire control of all whiskey sold in it. This control may also be extended to the manufacture of Liquors. The General Assembly of the State, in joint session, elects a Board of Directors, consisting of three members, who must be of "good moral character, not addicted to the use of intoxicating Liquors as a beverage," who take entire control of the sale of Liquor within the state. A Dispensary Commissioner, with a salary of three thousand dollars a year, is elected in the same manner, as their executive officer. The latter is removable for cause by the Governor, whose reasons

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for removal, however, are subject to review by the General Assembly. A dispensary for the sale of Liquor in any community can be had by one-fourth of the qualified voters petitioning for it and the casting of a majority of the votes in favor of it at a special election which this petition causes to be called. The dispensaries are open only from sunrise to sunset. The officer in charge of it is placed under bond not to sell out of hours, not to allow Liquor to be consumed on the premises, not to sell to minors nor drunkards, and for sale to the latter his bondsmen are liable for damages. All Liquors are sold only in sealed packages, and must bear the stamp of the state chemist, who guarantees their purity. Each purchaser must sign an application for the Liquors which he purchases, and this is filed by the officer in charge of the Dispensary. The profits

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of the business, of course, all go into the state treasury, to be used for various purposes. Fraudulent representations to obtain Liquor are punishable with heavy fines or imprisonment. The operation of this law has revolutionized the Liquor business in South Carolina, though its inception aroused such violent opposition from the saloon keepers as to bring about for a time almost a civil war.

The following letter to the writer speaks for itself:

My Dear Sir:

Your communication, addressed to Hon. B. R. Tillman, has been referred to me for reply.

I take pleasure in mailing to you under separate cover a copy of our Dispensary Law, and also a copy of our last Annual Report just issued.

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In addition, I beg to say that the Dispensary System is *the only solution* of the Liquor problem. We have tried it and it has proven successful in our state. You can scarcely see a drunken man at anytime, and it is steadily growing in favor, even with our bitterest enemies. We are very proud of our *great institution*, and hope to see other states follow, or at least introduce such a system.

Hoping that the literature sent will prove interesting to you, I am,

(Dict.) Yours very truly,

(Copy) H. H. CRUM.

Commissioner.

THE EVILS OF THE SALOON

The Liquor business, as conducted at present, has three features which the solution of our problem must eliminate.

1. The first of these is the element of

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private profit. Men go into the Liquor business, not because of their innate devilish propensities, nor because they want to injure their fellowmen. Many saloon-keepers, the writer can say from personal acquaintance, are men of good moral habits and upright lives in other respects, and who, if engaged in some other business, would be looked on as valuable members of the community. Men go into the ostracized business because of the money there is to be made in it. Think of the enormous drink bill of our nation, nearly one and one-quarter billions of dollars, and remember that the profits shared by manufacturer, jobber and retail saloon-keeper are from three hundred to eight hundred per cent., and we can see why brewers and distillers become so wealthy, and why thrifty, industrious saloon-keepers become large property

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holders. The laboring men of the five leading nations of the world, as we have already noticed, pay to the saloon keepers for Liquors three-fifths as much as they pay to their landlords for house-rent.

2. The second feature is to be found in the present accompaniments of its sale. These persuade men to increased consumption, and make the saloon both the rendezvous and promoter of all forms of vice.

The social habit, by which each man of, perhaps, a dozen who line up before the bar for drinks, must set up drinks for all the rest before they leave the bar, causes a man to drink from two to twelve times as much as he would otherwise.

The night saloon is the gathering place for the vicious of all kinds. The gamblers are always over or behind or nearby a saloon. The thugs who live by high-

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way robbery and assassination make it their meeting place. It is the spot where the bedizened courtesan entraps the unwary, and most of the prostitutes of every city begin their downward career in some saloon-keeper's dance hall or private wine-room.

3. The third feature is to be found in its power in politics. Many of the leading politicians in any city or community at present are personally interested, in some way or other, in the Liquor business. Saloon-keepers are never in the majority, in even the worst of districts, but they often have such a large following as to dictate both the nominations of a caucus and the enactments of a legislature. Even the enforcement of enacted legislation is often a matter of their dictation. This is what Lord Rosebery referred to in his statement already quoted, "If the

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nation does not soon control the Liquor traffic, the Liquor traffic will control the nation." The fact is the saloon has so largely debauched the civic conscience of a great many of our city population that they expect it to take a leading part in politics.

A moment's consideration will show that the solution, to any satisfactory extent, of the Liquor problem must take away from the business these three features. It must take private profit out of it, so men will no longer have inducement to enlarge the sales and consumption of it. It must rob it of its power for social evil, both as to the "treating" habit and as the promoter of vice. It must destroy the Liquor interest as a political power.

THE CURE AT WORK

Consider, then, how a combination of the Dispensary System and the Göthen-

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burg System may accomplish these results.

1. State control entirely eliminates the element of private profit. The price of Liquor may be reduced so as to bring from its sale only such profit as any other goods bring, or the price may be kept as high as now. In either case, the dispensary officer is on a salary. No profit goes to any individual, for all of it is expended on works of public philanthropy. There is absolutely no inducement whatever to the seller of it to make large sales. The license of the saloon has just the opposite effect. The saloon-keeper not only has the inducement of any other merchant to sell large quantities, but we lay on him the license tax and say, "you must sell enough to pay that, too. Adulterate your Liquors as much as you see fit, and get all the profit you can, but you must pay

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us our license fees as well as pay for your goods and your running expenses." No wonder that under the present system, we find it difficult to prevent sale to minors and drunkards, and to make the saloons close at night, for every dealer is under pressure to sell all he can and at big profit. By the state system the profits of the business can be used for all kinds of public improvements. "Make the business pay its own way," of course; but if the profits are all turned into the state treasury, hospitals will be built from them, public libraries and reading rooms established, social-halls and play grounds and parks can be paid for with what now goes to strengthen the worst foe that our nation has to conquer, the vicious Liquor power.

2. State control robs the liquor business of its social attractions. No Liquor can be

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drunk on the premises. That sweeps away the "treating" habit with one stroke. No side-rooms or back-rooms or upper-rooms or back-doors are allowed. No loafing about the Dispensary is permissible, and the saloon closes from sundown to sunrise. What a revolution it will work when the city thug has no saloon in which to take refuge; when the courtesan has no dance-hall, whose atmosphere is foul with liquor and tobacco, in which to debauch the youth; when the sale of Liquor is as completely divorced from all forms of vice, as the purchase of a dozen of oranges now is at a fruit stand. No screens are before the windows and doors, and the Liquors sold are pure Liquors, examined and sealed by the state chemist.

3. And no less effectively does state control remove the Liquor business from

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politics. The control of the business throughout the state is in the hands of three men who must be of good "moral character, not addicted to the use of intoxicating liquors as a beverage." These men might well be appointed or elected by the judges of our Supreme Court, guaranteeing their personal character beyond doubt. How completely the system does destroy the political influence of the Liquor interests may be seen in its practical working in South Carolina. As a political factor it has simply been buried. No longer does the Liquor magnate step in on a political caucus and dictate the nomination and platform. State control has left him without a job, and he no longer chirps.¹

¹ It is claimed that while the saloon-keeper is no longer a controlling factor in politics in South Carolina, the Dispensary System is "full of politics." If this is the case, it is due to the fact that the Governor appoints the Dispensary Commission. Make this commission appointable by the Supreme Court and this defect will be removed.

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THE PRACTICABILITY OF THE SCHEME

Can the scheme be put into execution? Without any doubt. No scheme more workable was ever invented. The most commendable thing about it is that it is a practicable measure. It is not ideal. The ideal condition for any state is the complete extermination of the Liquor business. This is a scheme to use where that cannot at present be accomplished.

The operation of this system of state control can be secured the moment we unite on it. The Liquor interests are not in the majority. Those who would do away with it could outvote them at the polls in any county in our land, and they will do it as soon as they agree on some practicable scheme. It is a noteworthy fact that the bitterest opposition to state control has come from two extremes, from the Liquor men, on the one hand, who

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would be put out of business, and the extreme temperance party, on the other hand, who will have nothing to do with any palliative legislation that does not utterly prohibit the sale of Liquor in any form. So the man with a puritan conscience, who ought to be the back bone of every movement for man's moral and religious betterment, because he could not get his complete ideal all at once, has been joining hands with his own worst foe to make stronger the shackles of our nation's worst slavery to vice. To them especially, let this word be addressed. Before you, for the great cities and towns of our land, are these two schemes, for the control of the Liquor business, the Saloon and the Dispensary. Ponder the two. Neither is your ideal; but which is nearest to it? Consider the present destructive work of the saloon and how your refusal

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to unite with the great masses of the public on what they consider a practicable scheme is fastening the saloon on us more firmly and aggravating each day its vicious influences, and ponder the call to join your hands here to replace the saloon with the Dispensary. We have had enough of suffering from the stubbornness of conflicting theories. Here is one already at work, a vast improvement over anything put at work elsewhere. It is high time for the idealist and the opportunist to join hands here. As heaven cannot be gained at a single leap, so ideal conditions in our social order cannot be realized in a day. But here opens a path to the betterment of present conditions; and only as we live up to our present light have we the right to expect that we shall ever realize our ideal, a state free from crime, a home free from poverty, a people free from vice.

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The day when we exchange the Saloon for the Dispensary will lift us to another hill-top in this climb.

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The growth of the great city is the phenomenon of history, and its redemption will usher in the Kingdom of God. Its gates to-day are ruled by prejudice and greed, and blackened with the smoke of toil and the marks of vice; but they will one day change to swinging pearls that bar no comer but he who works abomination and makes a lie. Its streets to-day are full of deceit and violence and the slaughtered souls of men; but one day they will change to gold, and be crowded with the glory and honor of the nations.

Who will be one of the "righteous" men, that will save the city?

CHAPTER IV

THE PROBLEM OF THE CITY

THE growth of the modern city has been one of the most striking things about the past century. The United States one hundred years ago had only six cities of eight thousand inhabitants and over. Now it has over five hundred of that size, and they contain from one-fourth to one-third of our entire population.

It took New York one hundred and seventy-five years, from its founding in 1614, to gain thirty-three thousand inhabitants, but in the twenty years following 1870, it gained nearly one million; and

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the growth of Chicago and New York in population during the past thirty years has been one of the wonders of human history.

We are accustomed to account for this rapid growth of our large cities by the foreign immigration which has poured into them from the old world. This tide has been enormous, and the foreign-born or children of foreign-born are the big majority in our largest cities. But the question would still remain, even were the growth due to this, why have these immigrants flocked to the cities instead of settling on the rich farming land that was open to them at such low prices or even to be worked on shares? The fact is, this is not the cause of the growth, for this marvelous increase is not confined to the cities of the New World. While the population of France as a whole shows signs of decrease, Paris is four times as large as it was in

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1800 and during the past ten years has grown eighteen per cent. London is probably two thousand years old, yet four-fifths of its growth took place in the nineteenth century, and it has grown twenty per cent. in the past ten years. St. Petersburg has nearly trebled its population in the last seventy-five years, and Berlin for the sixty years preceding 1900 outstripped the growth of New York. Odessa is one thousand years old, but nineteen-twentieths of its population was gained during the past century, and the population of Calcutta has increased nearly five hundred per cent. in the past seventy-five years.

The following table of statistics shows the growth in population of the leading cities of the world from 1890 to 1900:

	1890	1900
Chicago.....	1,191,922	1,838,735
New York proper.....	1,441,216	1,850,093
Greater New York.....	2,799,242	3,834,999

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	1890	1900
Philadelphia.....	1,005,277	1,369,632
St. Petersburg.....	954,400 (1897)	1,132,667
Vienna (1894).....	1,480,572 (1899)	1,639,811
Berlin (1893).....	1,640,994	1,884,157
Paris (1896).....	3,308,007	3,599,991
London (1891).....	5,663,806	6,652,145

The rate of increase for the decade has been for London twenty per cent.; Greater New York, thirty-seven per cent.; Paris, eighteen per cent.; Berlin, twelve per cent.; Philadelphia, twenty-three per cent.; St. Petersburg, fifteen and five-tenths per cent.; Vienna, eleven per cent.; and Chicago, fifty-four per cent. The population of Chicago is growing twice as rapidly as that of any city in the world, except Greater New York.

THE CAUSES OF THE CITY

The growth of the modern city is not due to foreign immigration, but, as has been pointed out by Josiah Strong and

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other writers on this subject, to causes that are rooted in the very heart of our modern civilization.

The first of these is the application of machinery to agriculture. This has made it possible for one man to do the work on a farm which once taxed the energies of four men. The consequence is that three out of every four boys who once remained to work the farm now go to the city to find a means of livelihood.

The second is the application of machinery to manufacturing. The shoes of a community are no longer made by the village shoemakers; the enormous shoe factories, massing thousands of operatives and all kinds of improved machinery under one roof, has left the village shoemaker nothing but "mending" to do. The "factory" can make as good a product as the individual and at far less cost, because

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of the massing of men and raw material at one place, the improved machinery used, and the large output which is handled.

Now, it is a remarkable fact that while the application of machinery to agriculture has decreased the number of people engaged in it, the application of machinery to manufacturing has enormously increased the number engaged in it. But a moment's consideration will show the reason for it. There is a natural limit to the amount of agricultural products which the nation can consume, but there is no limit practically to the number and variety of manufactured articles which one may consume. Our generation consumes no more food than did our grandfathers, in many cases, because of differences of vocation and physical endowment, far less ; but a comparison of the houses of the two generations, their clothing, and the commodities of life with

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which they surround themselves will show a vast difference. Indeed, a German investigator of this subject has published statistics which show that as a man increases in wealth and culture of mind, the proportion of his income which he spends on his food decreases and that which he spends on the furnishings of life, house, bric-a-brac, furniture, jewelry, *et cetera*, increases. Then the application of machinery to manufacturing has greatly decreased the cost of manufactured products, and this always stimulates consumption.

The third cause, without which neither of these would have been effective, was the application of steam and electricity to transportation. Only in this way was it possible, not only to center workmen and raw material on which to employ them about one common plant, but also, what is of more importance, to bring to the thou-

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sands thus massed together the products of farm and dairy for their subsistence. The greatest factor in producing the modern city is, without doubt, the modern railroad. Industrial centers are converging points of great trunk lines of railroad; and the growth of a city has usually been measured by the number and importance of the transportation lines converging there.

THE CITY HERE TO STAY

These causes are plainly as permanent as is our very civilization; and being caused by these things, the city is here to stay. Whatever of evil or good the modern city has, it is not ephemeral. Its congested life and bad sanitation, its hotbeds of vice and its fields and forces of philanthropy and virtue, its industrial and social disorders, are not things which the mere process of time will remove. Time will

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no more cure the evil influences of the city than time will eradicate weeds and briars from a field or drain a deadly marsh. The city has come to stay ; and left to itself it will become increasingly a hotbed of vice, a breeder of moral and physical death.

THE MENACE OF TOMORROW

Still worse: unless the evils of the city are speedily met in our land, not only will they become more aggravated, but they will bring under their baneful sweep the control of the entire country. The influence of the city is already enormous ; but it is little to-day compared with what it may become. Our country is a republic, which means not only that our government is carried on through the people's chosen representatives, but that the majority of the voters determine who these representatives shall be. To-day our cities of eight thousand inhabitants

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and over contain less than one-third of our entire population. The inhabitants of the smaller towns and the country are in the majority. Our state legislatures to-day can control our cities, direct municipal legislation, check extravagance, expose corruption, uproot evil, transform the entire government of a city.¹

But if the recent growth and movement of our population city-ward continues till 1920, and there is every reason to suppose it will, the cities of eight thousand and over will then contain ten millions more of people than the rest of the country. The tables will then be reversed, and the city's representatives in state legislatures, notoriously the easiest to bribe, and the poorest in legislative ability, will dictate the legislation of the entire state. And the same will be true in the United States

¹As the legislature of Pennsylvania recently did in the city of Pittsburg.

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Congress. The difficulty of the city problem under that condition will almost defy solution. In view of this, the problem of the city is one which calls for speedy and radical action.

WHAT IS THE "CITY" PROBLEM?

But let us understand what we mean by "the problem of the city." The city is the industrial center today, but the industrial problem has its separate consideration under the head of the "Labor Problem." The city is especially the home of the saloon, but we consider that under the "Liquor Problem". In fact, because life there is at its intensest, the city has pre-eminently all the problems connected with our twentieth century civilization. But the problem of the city, as it is to be discussed here, is the problem of *city government*. Not only is it impossible to make any headway in working out a solu-

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tion of the many other problems of the city till we have worked out this one; but the working out of this will make comparatively easy the solution of the rest. The housing problem, urban transportation, the social evil, gambling and highway robbery, pure food, the smoke nuisance, the water supply,—the proper handling of all these and their like hangs on the question of municipal government.

Our country has had two eminent foreigners visit it and write upon its institutions works that have become classics in our study of government. One of them was a Frenchman and the other an Englishman. It is a fact for us to ponder that both M. de Tocqueville, who visited our country a hundred years ago, and Mr. James Bryce, M. P., who has studied our country and written one of the finest commentaries extant on our constitution,

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both look on the American city as the greatest peril to the American republic. Let us neither forget nor ignore the fact that the municipal government of our large cities is notoriously the weakest spot and greatest menace in our national life. No serious minded lover of his country will shut his eyes to the danger-signals.

THE CITY AS IT IS

The present conditions are not only a menace; in many cases they are a deep disgrace. It is very easy for club-members to gather around a banquet table, and amid the clink of glasses and the gurgle of champagne, let city officials persuade them that there is nothing to be wrought up over; but a glance at the daily the next morning, and the testimony of the all night reporter, and the investigations of a conscientious prosecutor, tell a very different story.

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Each city has its own disgrace. St. Louis has her gang of boodlers and her "prominent citizens" directing her great corporations who are glad to make use of them. New York has her Tammany, caged for a season, only to be let loose when the tiger's appetite has been whetted by a short retirement. Chicago's scepter is so completely wielded by the brewers and saloon-keepers, that it is the favored city of the thug and thief and gambler, a "wide-open" town because it has a Mayor who listens to the crowd that makes the loudest clamor.

THE PROBLEM OF GOOD GOVERNMENT

First of all, then, let us understand exactly the problem that is before us. Our task is to wrest the control of the city from the saloon-keeper and boodler, from the man who is in politics for the money he can get out of it; and place at its head

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the best type of our citizenship, who will administer its affairs economically and honestly, as a purely business concern, for the common welfare of all its people.

THE QUESTION OF THE HOUR

How can this be done? The blindest of us must see that the great city in our country to-day is full of violence and strife. That day and night thug and thief go about it, making often times its police, who should be its wall of defence, their helpers in crime and the sharers of their booty. Wickedness is in the midst of it, and deceit and guile depart not from its streets.¹ Even the most self-satisfied of us must feel the need of a better order, but how shall we get it? Who will bring us into the strong city?²

First of all, let a word be said about how it will not come. It will not come

¹ Cf. Psalm 55:9-11.

² Cf. Ps. 60:9.

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by multiplying the number or increasing the individual avoirdupois of our police force. As crime and graft increase in a great city, the first thought of its average resident is that we need more policemen. In times of extreme disorder, we turn to the military. This is the method of a monarchy, to quell disorder by military force; but the effort to get a well-governed city by the intimidating presence of the military has always been futile, and it always will be. Though we multiplied the number of our policemen till we could even find one when we needed him, and increased their individual bulk till each was as big as Edward Martini,¹ our effort would be futile in securing a well governed city. The thing will not come through dressing men in blue cloth and

¹ Chicago's famous big policeman, who died in 1902, and was known as "The biggest policeman in the world." He weighed about 400 pounds, and was nearly 6½ feet high.

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brass buttons, and arming them with either batons or Winchester rifles. The larger the number of policemen or military that a city must have to enforce law or keep order, the poorer does it thereby confess its government to be, and the less ability does it show to govern itself.

Nor shall we get a well governed city by tinkering with the city charter. Our large cities have tried a division of power between an upper and lower house and a chief executive; they have tried dividing it between one house of aldermen and the chief executive, and they have tried the centralization of power in one man, the mayor, and the results have all had one striking and common characteristic—bad. Whatever the form of the city charter, the government of the city has speedily fallen into the hands of the “old gang” or a new gang as thoroughly depraved and more

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keen witted; and the reign of vice and the waste of the people's money, and the mismanagement of the city's public utilities have continued. The latest proposition is to replace the present mayor and city council with a body of three or five commissioners, elected by the people, or the members of the supreme court, or appointed by the Governor of the State, and give over the entire government of the city into their hands. Undoubtedly the best governed city in the United States is governed in this way,¹ and the experiment as now being tried by Galveston, Texas, gives great promise. But either this or any other form of government which relies upon the machinery itself to produce good city government, will meet with failure. The best of guns will fall into the

¹ The city of Washington, D. C., which is governed by the District Commissioners, elected by the U. S. Senate.

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hands of poor marksmen, and the best of city charters have a way of dove-tailing in with the methods of the demagogue and the boodler.

Nor will relief come through the enabling acts of increased legislation. Some cities may need more liberal charters, but increase of liberty often serves only to supply the needed rope with which the city either hangs or binds to a worse slavery the little minority of public-spirited men who are laboring for better conditions. We are spending much discussion these days on public ownership and the referendum, and the wisdom of giving cities absolute self government. The ill or good in these measures is dependent entirely on the character of the city's population. Being what it is to-day, the city could hardly fall on a worse fate than to secure these things. The population of the average

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city is still a child in both wisdom of choice and the exercise of self-control; and in not a few cases vice, unmasked and hideous, is one of the most influential forces in shaping conduct.

THE NEED OF THE CITY

What can be done to save the municipal government of our cities? What do we need to do?

First, we need to divorce municipal government from party politics, and treat it as a purely business affair.

One of the most stupid and disastrous blunders in our national history has been the persistent alignment of the voters in the city along party lines on purely municipal questions. Why should party politics have anything whatever to do with our choice of municipal officials? What has the tariff, or the gold standard and free silver, or imperialism, or states

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rights, or the income tax, to do with the local government of a city?

To maintain a public school system and courts of justice, to provide an ample and excellent water supply and a good lighting system, to give clean and well-paved streets and the best of intra-rural transportation, to preserve law and order, for the common good of all its people,—this is the work of a municipal government. What more should party politics have to do with these things than with the management of your church or the domestic affairs of your home? The conduct of a city's government is a purely business affair, and so we must build a strong and efficient city government just as we build up any other business. What difference does it make to a corporation whether its treasurer is a democrat or a republican, provided he keeps his books accurately

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and does not steal the company's money? Party politics should have just as little to do in deciding who shall be our mayor or representative in the city council.

Our best city officials are always picked business men. Our mayor should be chosen, not for oratorical gifts, much less for his political or social prominence, but solely for his integrity of character and business ability. The man who can efficiently conduct the government of a great city is not, as a rule, the professional man, whether he be lawyer, teacher, or preacher; but a practical business man, who can master the intricate details of a great enterprise, and deal with actual conditions, such a man as can conduct successfully a great industrial concern or department store. When we cease putting in our municipal offices the leaders or tools of a political party, and seek for our representa-

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tives among the ranks of successful business men, one mighty stride will have been made towards a well governed city.

A CIVIC CONSCIENCE

In the second place, the redemption of the city from bad government calls for the creation in the individual citizen of a civic conscience. That is something which most "reputable" citizens of the average city do not possess. We have a conscience. We would not steal a horse, some of us would not steal a railroad, and some of us would not even beat our way on the street car or tell a lie about our tax assessment; but the moral perceptions of most of us are very obtuse when it comes to our civic duties. Even in so important a matter as the choice of a judiciary, the man who feels a real remorse over his failure to vote at the primary would be an attraction for a museum. It

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is seldom the average citizen to-day seeks any voice in choosing the candidates for city offices, or is at any pains to acquaint himself with their different characteristics after they are nominated. In many cases, the voter does not exercise his franchise at all; and in many more he votes for the candidates of whom some political acquaintance or friend is an ardent supporter. When corruption and mal-administration come to light in the official career of the successful candidate, this "reputable" citizen grows eloquent in denouncing the "corruption in politics" and the "rottenness" at the City Hall, forgetting that those conditions are largely due to the neglect of him and his like to exercise an intelligent franchise.

If the misgovernment of our American cities is ever to end, this civic conscience must be developed in our reputable

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citizens. They must be brought to feel a personal responsibility for any corruption or mismanagement in their city's government; and that it is just as deep a disgrace to have in their city council such men as "Hinky-Dink" Kenna and "Johnnie" Powers, and "Eddie" Novak and "dear-midnight-of-love" Coughlan, as to have them directors of the trust company to whom they entrust their estates for their children or trustees of the church in which they worship God. The redemption of our cities from misrule waits for a generation of men whose civic conscience will measure up to their civic responsibilities.

In the third place, to rescue our cities from misgovernment, we must determine that the ideals which we seek to realize in our municipal life shall rise above the desires of the rabble. It is a common

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thing to-day for the city executive to yield to the people that make the most noise. Indeed the mayor of one of the largest cities in the United States has given this out as his distinct policy. Great pride is expressed by certain classes of men over their city being a "cosmopolitan" city, and with an air of much self-importance, they announce that such a great city should not be run along the narrow policies of a provincial town. "We have an enormous foreign population. They come to us from all parts of the world, and have not been accustomed to many of our puritanical notions. It is the business of the city officials to take this into account and give to these elements of our population the things to which they have been accustomed."

The folly of this plea is self-evident, but the force of it with the average city

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official is as great as its folly; for the vote of the most ignorant naturalized foreigner counts as much for his election as that of the most ardent supporter of American institutions. It needs to be clearly understood that the duty of any official in a republic, whether he be city, state, or national, is to give his constituency what they ought to have, rather than what they want; and his being in that official position is due to the fact that he is better able to decide what measures will make for the public good than the people themselves in popular assembly would be able to do.

It is the cry of the political demagogue to "give the people what they want;" and to allow in a city Sunday beer-gardens and prize-fights, immoral street fairs and gambling dives, opium joints and the all-night saloon, to run a "wide open town,"

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such as New York always is under Tammany or as Chicago well nigh is under Mayor Harrison, simply because the people who are making the most noise clamor for it, is pandering to the base passions of the rabble instead of striving for the high ideals of the best. Just as we shall never get the ideal public school till we cease taking our ideals from the people that have fewest ideas; so we shall never get a well governed city till we cease taking our standards from the people of lowest morals. It is not the mission of the cities of America to repeat the blunders and perpetuate the immoralities and vices of the cities of the old world. It is the mission of the American city to realize the American ideal. The highest civil authority in our land has declared that by our very constitution this is a Christian nation, and every

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citizen has a right to demand that the officials of his city conduct its affairs on Christian principles. Not what the rabble wants, but what the people need should be the aim of every government.

“THE MEN BEHIND THE GUNS”

Last, and perhaps most important of all, the redemption of our American cities from misrule calls for the entrance into municipal politics of our men of mature business experience and irreproachable character. The misrule of our cities is a thing which many men have long pondered; and the conviction is happily growing on the general public that the secret of it lies after all in the type of men who control the “political machine” and the character of those whom they put into office. A “political machine” may be a necessary evil, as the politicians claim; but certainly it is not necessary that this

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machine should be continuously worked by those least capable of it from the standpoint of either morals or business ability.

We need better men in control of the city government, men of business ability and irreproachable moral character, men who will be faithful to their duties, men of honor who will neither lie nor steal. It has been repeatedly intimated that the best way in which to secure this is to increase the salary of the city officials. So far as salary affects the matter, the experience in America goes to show that the higher the salary attached to the office, the greater the rascal who finally gets into it, and the experience of Great Britain shows that the best of all policies is to attach no salary whatever to these offices. The salary is the bait in America which draws a greedy and corrupt official.

Before the municipal problem can be

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solved, we must choose our officials from the best instead of, as is frequently the case now, from the worst element of our population. Here is to be found the most striking difference between the cities of America and those of Great Britain. The Lord Mayor of London who welcomed Lord Roberts on his triumphal return from South Africa, was one of Great Britain's most prominent manufacturers; and he carried to the Executive chair of his city not only the business ability which had made him one of his country's most successful masters of industry, but a technical training in the details of city government which he had gained in his continuous service in the city council.

Think what it will mean for the cities of America when their great leaders in industry and business are willing to sacrifice

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their personal financial interests to have the honor of thus serving their city, even without salary.

To secure this, calls not only for the willingness of such men to fill these public offices as places of highest honor, but the active participation in political affairs of a constituency who will appreciate their services. One of the best things that could come to the city of Chicago, for example, would be to place such a man as Cyrus H. McCormick in the Mayor's chair; but not even the most visionary would dare to hope that, even should Mr. McCormick be willing to make the personal sacrifice, he could receive enough votes, as Chicago's municipal politics are now conducted, to elect him to that position.

The need of the hour is not only for our prominent business men to forego a

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few years of money-making and give their mature business experience to the rule of our cities, but the active participation of the rank and file of our best citizens in the control of the political machine. Past experience and present indications point to the wisdom of making all purely administrative municipal offices, such as Mayor and aldermen, as well as school commissioners and all executive boards, without any salary whatever. The honor of the office would be its sole attraction; and just as this alone secured the best commanding general¹ our nation ever had, so it would doubtless work here; and the city would secure men to conduct public affairs who had already shown their ability by making a success of their private business.

These four things are not all that the

¹ George Washington accepted the position of Commander-in-Chief of the American army in the Revolutionary War on condition that no salary whatever should be attached to the office.

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American city needs to-day ; but they blaze a way to redemption from misrule which will lead us, if faithfully followed, to an ideal city.

Spasmodic efforts at reform leave the root of the matter untouched, and pass away soon to leave conditions aggravated and deeper despair of permanent betterment. We must have a civic awakening that does not depend on the hortatory remarks of the political orator or the persistent attention of party whips, but springs from the creation of a strong civic conscience in the individual.

Let us learn to feel both responsibility for present conditions and civic pride in our city's development. Let us find some other use for our city and its teeming thousands than merely as a place in which to make money. Let us enlist, not simply for an approaching election, but for

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good and all in the ranks of civic righteousness, to drive deceit and violence out of our city, the thug and thief from our streets, and the boodler and saloon-keeper from our legislative halls and executive chair; and, by and by, we shall see, if not a city with gates of pearl and streets of gold, at least a city that can boast of more than bigness, clean and well-paved in its streets, honest in its administration, teeming with a happy as well as a prosperous people, and something to be proud of in the type of its citizenship and the men who bear its rule.

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A few years ago the people of Chicago discovered that the continuous flow of the city's sewage into Lake Michigan was hopelessly polluting their water supply. With characteristic energy and daring, and at a cost of over ten millions of dollars, they dug an immense ditch westward from the city and reversed the flow of the Chicago river, into which the city's sewers empty. The sewerage is thus carried into the Illinois river, and finally, by nature's ministry of flowing water, disappears entirely; and the water supply of the Great Lakes is protected from contamination.

Such a work is needed for the hearts of men; and the man who will not only show to the sons of men what the Pure Life is; but will, by a more than Titanic arm, turn the flow of man's nature from the cesspools of vice, upward to the fair fields of virtue, is rightly deemed the Saviour of the Race.

CHAPTER V

THE PROBLEM OF VICE

ONE problem of our series remains. It is peculiar neither to America nor the twentieth century. It belongs to the ages in point of time and to the world in its locality. It has branded the sons of every generation with its mark, and has smitten every land with its blight. It is the old problem of Vice.

It finds a place for discussion in connection with these more ephemeral problems for several reasons.

First of all, universal and ageless as it is, the problem of vice confronts the men

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and women of the twentieth century in a more aggravated form than it has, perhaps, ever known before. Life has never before reached such intensity as it has to-day; and this has brought to the opening of the twentieth century not only the finest types of manhood and womanhood, the most robust virtue and saintliest sympathies, but also the deepest degradations and intensest forms of vice.

Another reason is to be found in the peculiar sphere of this problem. It is universal in its influence ultimately, but primarily it concerns the individual. Our age is intensely individualistic. The discovery and development of the individual is the heart passion of our generation. All history of the past and all forces in the present, both scientific and philosophical, take on significance and worth with us to-day because of the place which

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they occupy or fail to occupy in the development of individual character. The problem of vice vitally concerns this, as does no other problem of our age.

Yet another reason for the discussion of vice in this connection is to be found in its bearing on these other problems. Not only does it make an atmosphere in which these other troubles grow in aggravation and intensity, but it furnishes in the individuals of our social order a deadly toxin which is ever breaking out in forms of injustice and personal hatred. Its presence makes it needful not only to show a wrong-doer how to do right; but, what is often infinitely harder, persuade him to give up wrong and do right. Thus existing at the root of all these other problems, from that of our dealing with the Negro to how we shall handle the Liquor question, it not only deserves

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discussion here because of association; but, as we may see in the course of its consideration, any dealing with these other problems which does not at the same time seek a full solution of this underlying problem of vice will be but temporizing with the others.

THE VITAL QUESTION

The problem of vice is, after all, the *vital question*. It is the supreme question with the statesman, who is ever finding himself opposed and thwarted by vicious men from realizing his dreams of the ideal state. It is the dark riddle for the philanthropist and reformer, for the persistent and pernicious activity of moral evil in the human race is his despair. The educator finds it an insuperable barrier, for he is ever seeing vicious minds barricade themselves against the angels of knowledge; and to the preacher of righteousness, vice is the

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arch-fiend in human form, the satanic protagonist with whom he wrestles for the souls of men. With even the most selfish of men, vice is the supreme question; for vice means reflexive evil and is the foe of his own self-interest.

THE MYSTERY OF EVIL

The relation of the divine will to the presence of moral evil in the universe has always been to the human mind an insoluble mystery. Why a sovereign and almighty God allowed evil to enter his world, or having let it enter allows it to remain and work such hurt to His children, is a question which still waits for a satisfactory answer.

Still we are beginning to see something of the mission of evil in the world. We may still doubt whether the presence of moral evil is necessary under our present order to change innocence into righteous-

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ness, but it is certain that such a result is being accomplished in this way before our very eyes; and neither experience nor philosophy can tell us of any other way to grow strength of character and voluntary choice of the good save under the stress of temptation to choose the wrong. But a still different question is before us here. It is the question of why a man in the enjoyment of his freedom of choice will yield to the craving of an appetite and will do a thing which will hurt himself.

SIN, CRIME, VICE

A wrong act viewed from the standpoint of God is a *sin*. The biblical account of its origin attributes it to self-will, and characterizes it as disobedience against God.

A wrong act considered from the standpoint of the state is a *crime*. The causes of crime are manifold. A prominent prose-

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cuting attorney in one of our largest cities recently gave, out of his wide experience, the following as, in his opinion, the chief causes of crime: Foreign population, poverty, the saloon, heredity, lack of parental control. These present a most attractive field to the reformer and philanthropist; and it is doubtless with these phases of the question that the public is most deeply interested, and that most efforts to meet the influence of evil are exerted.

But we must go yet deeper if we would get at the real root of wrongdoing. A wrong act considered from the standpoint of him who does it is a *vice*, a self-hurtful act. Here we are to find the real causes of evil, in the personality of the man who commits it. Not only is vice the root of all other wrong, but it is, as a class, comprehensive of the rest. All vice is sin, for

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every hurt which man gives to his own high form is an injury to the handiwork of God; and "he who sinneth against God wrongeth his own soul." While the state does not take cognizance of all vice as a crime against the body politic, it being recognized that there are some vices whose hurts are so self-circumscribed that the state should take no account of them on the ground of personal liberty; it must be confessed that all crime is vice, for he who hurts his body politic hurts also himself.

THE CAUSES OF VICE

The task before us then is to ask first, What are the causes that persuade a man to the moral suicide of a vicious life? Vice has three causes, each of which has had its sponsor in the great triad of Greek philosophers.

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THE HUMAN ANIMAL

The first cause to be mentioned is the predominance in us of the animal. Men differ to-day materially in their opinions about our animal origin. We may believe that our bodies had their origin in a divine creative act as sudden as that which breathed into these bodies a living soul; or we may believe that both souls and bodies came into existence through long processes of development from lower orders. We may differ widely about the moral qualities of these bodies at that particular time when they became the habitation of human souls. But all of us will agree that about the average man of to-day, whether it survives as a part of his past animal existence or is the result of his "fall" in Eden, there is a large per cent. of the animal. Just as a foreigner brings with him to our shores, in his dress and

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speech and social customs and even the furniture of his house, as well as in his folklore and religion, relics and characteristics of his former life; so man has brought even to the doorway of twentieth century culture and civilization survivals of the animal, what the apostle calls "the old man, who is corrupt according to his deceitful lusts." We find on the human skeleton to-day such bones as in the lower animals have attached to them the muscles which erect the ears and wag the tail. Some skilled youthful practitioners have even been known to develop and use the muscles connected with the ears. And of deeper moment, we carry in our bodies survivals of the old animal appetites.

Now, in the exercise and abuse of these animal appetites, we find one of the most fruitful causes of vice, indulging them till they become perverted and gross, and at

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last remorseless tyrants who enslave their poor victims in the foulest of pits. We feed to the point of gluttonness and drink to the depths of drunkenness. We take to stimulants and opiates which even an animal will not touch, and indulge our animal appetites till we have outanimalled the animal. It was a cutting satire, but too true, when the witty Frenchman said, "Man is the only animal who eats when he is not hungry, and makes love at all seasons."

This is the cause of vice for which old Plato stood sponsor; and his picture of the black horse of Passion and the white horse of Love harnessed to the chariot of life, with Reason as the charioteer, is not only one of the most pathetic but one of the truest pictures of human experience. Happy indeed is the man, and rare, who can finish the race of life with Reason

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master of his team, and the good white steed unhurt by the savage teeth and iron-shod hoofs of his vicious yoke-fellow.

THE IGNORANT REASON

The second cause is one on which Plato's great master, wise old Socrates, laid his hand. Standing back there under the shadow of heathen temples whose very acts of worship were a base prostitution of their bodies, surrounded with a generation of gay devotees of sensual pleasure, whose very pleasures were so grossly abusive of even the animal that nature made them into scourging vices for their punishment, the old philosopher's heart was moved with infinite pity. For to him their vices were born of their ignorant reason. They plucked the poisonous flower of their sensual appetites, lay down under the deadly upas tree of passion, because they knew of nothing better. They had never caught

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a glimpse of the higher soul-life, the infinite calm and peace and joy of him who has mastered the animal and entered into the higher life of the soul.

Most of us have seen something of this, and would that it might fill the hearts of all of us who see it with a pity as profound as that of Socrates. The ignorant reason is the cause of so much vice. The young girl who was seduced through the wine-room and its companionship to a life of shame would never have gone from her home that night could she have looked through those coming years of vice and seen the wretched, heart-broken outcast which she at last became. The tyrannical ruler would never have ground his iron heel into the neck of his people could he have seen the culture of brutality which he was working in his own nature and the awful vengeance which a nation of anarch-

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ists, of his own making, would one day wreak on his offspring and their government. The greed for gold, till honor and honesty have been sacrificed to get it, and all domestic joy and soul culture hopelessly foregone, indulgence in strong drink and the fascination of gambling on stocks or horse-races,—these and their like would have little fascination, if in some way the reason of man were not blindfolded, and the soul shut out from the exercise of its faculties. The animal life appeals to men because they are ignorant of the sweeter and abiding joys of the soul life.

THE PERVERTED WILL

But not until the third of this brilliant galaxy of Greek philosophers arose was the deep root of vice revealed. That was done when Aristotle pointed men to the perverted human will. Brutality, sheer

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animalism causes much vice; an ignorant reason causes more; but the main root of the trouble is in man's perversity. Consider that, the mulish element in man, the wrong-doer's resentfulness of authority, the provocation to evil by merely forbidding it; for here we find, deep seated in the wrong-doer himself, an irrational propensity to back into self-hurtful vice when the voice of his Maker, the law of his state, and his own self-interest call him away from it. It is not enough to discover and master the animal; it is not enough even to hold it in subjection and learn to find one's motives and aims of existence in the higher sphere of the soul-life; to master viciousness, the very bent of one's will must be mastered and turned. The current of the stream of life must be reversed.

Not only do we find vice resulting from

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each of these three causes, but it is common to find them conspiring to produce a vicious character. The animal appetites furnish the first suggestion, the ignorant reason prevents the disastrous results from being seen, the full significance of the act from being known at its inception, and the stubborn perversity of the will leads to persistence in the vicious course even after the danger signals are in view.

A striking instance of this is to be found in Judas Iscariot. His animal greed for gain doubtless led him into the ranks of the apostles and secured the place of treasurer, and it was in feeding this greed that his first steps in wrong were probably taken. His ignorance of who Jesus really was and of the significance of his acts both in their bearing on his own moral character and on the career of Jesus, kept him from seeing things

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which might well have made him prefer an earlier suicide to such a career. But his moral perversity led him to persist in this course of wrong doing even in the face of Christ's warning that it were better had he never been born than to do it. Thus they united to make of an intimate associate of even Jesus of Nazareth the moral renegade of history; and the experience of every day life shows they are no less deadly to-day.

Not only do they operate thus in individuals, but one of the most alarming types, because so ineradicable, is the way in which these forces have intrenched themselves in the government of a state and the customs of society, and even in the creeds and ceremonies of religion. There they fortify themselves behind man's natural conservatism and perpetuate wrong-doing through the very atmosphere

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of youth and the mother's nurture of her child. So customs and governments, philosophical systems and even religions become handmaidens of vice, Delilahs who soothe to moral torpor for the club of the Philistine of vice those whom they exist to cherish and protect.

THE PAULINE DIAGNOSIS

This is the diagnosis of vice by pagandom's most gifted philosophers. They pointed out the hurt at the heart of humanity, and laid their hand on its causes. They could go no further. They could show, but could in no wise heal, the hurt.

It may be worth our while, at this point to see how the apostle Paul agrees with their diagnosis. To heal the hurt was the passion of his life, and if we will turn to his words, we shall find both how thoroughly he had studied the matter and

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how fully he agreed with the Greek philosophers as to its causes.

We shall find some very significant words in this connection in his epistle to the Ephesians. It is his exhortation to men to give up the vicious and lead a virtuous life.

“That ye put off concerning the former conversation the old man, who is corrupt according to the deceitful lusts; and be renewed in the spirit of your mind; and that ye put on the new man, which after God is created in righteousness and true holiness.”¹

The “old man” of Paul is the “animal” of Plato; the “deceitful lusts” are the “ignorant reason” of Socrates; and the former conversation of the old man who is “corrupt” is the perverted will of Aristotle.

Brutality, ignorance, perversity of will—

¹ Eph. 4 : 22-24.

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these are the forces that make men degrade their own highborn manhood, till it is baser than the animal, and turn what God meant for an Eden of joy and love into a bear-pit, where men devour each other. So that picture of the mob, which crucified Jesus and set loose Barabbas, becomes a miniature of all history.

CAN VICE BE CURED?

If these be the causes of vice, is it possible to cure it? The desire for moral betterment has never been absolutely dead in the human race. Even in the days of man's deepest degradation, when moral darkness was over all the earth, when women were base and men were glad to have them so, noble men and women have arisen and called on the race to leave the dens of vice and seek a destiny worthy of their endowment; but the generations had ever a way of forgetting their forefathers'

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virtues and refining on their vices, till much of the race even to-day has grown cynical, and their thought about the problem of vice is a little more hopeful than the words of Pope:

“Vice is a monster of so frightful mien,
As, to be hated, needs but to be seen ;
Yet seen too oft, familiar with her face,
We first endure, then pity, then embrace. ”

Despite all this, vice, even in its deepest, most hurtful form can be cured, has been cured. But how?

The weakest of all ways to cure vice is to deny its reality, to look on it as only a lower stage in the natural development of the individual, a condition which should be and will be outgrown with the passing years and the natural evolution of our social order. While from one point of view it is to be deplored, the victim of it is in no sense to be personally censured, much less punished. No more blame

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should attach to it than to the savage for his ignorance of the classics or to the lion for his appetite for raw meat. It is simply a natural condition which he must, by a gradual transformation or uplifting of tastes, be led to outgrow.

This view of vice is both pernicious and false. Its falsehood is shown by the repeated cases of degeneracy into viciousness which we find not only in a cultured and educated generation, but even among the children of cultured and virtuous parents. It is pernicious because it ignores a deadly malady which should have immediate and drastic treatment.

Another futile method is that which Lyman Beecher favored for the treatment of heretics,—give vice plenty of rope and let it hang itself. Give vice enough license, it is claimed, and it will destroy itself. In one sense, this is true. Vice does possess

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a self-destroying power for the individual. The vicious soul shall die is only another way of putting the scriptural statement, "The soul that sinneth, it shall die." It is one of nature's remorseless laws that the man who yields to vice destroys himself. Vice is an automatic executioner.

But in proposing this as a remedy for vice in the world, we are losing sight of the fresh material on which vice seizes. While the victim of vice is destroying himself, he influences often a company of fresh victims to take up the same career. The vagabond tramp who takes to a life of wandering vagrancy and drunkenness will not curse the world with much of an offspring, but he will, perhaps, teach a dozen or more of the children of others to enter this vicious life. The same is true with the prostitute and gambler and often with the drunkard.

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On the other hand, there are cases where the victims of vice are multiplied by direct generation. There is a case on record in this country, in which among the offspring of one vagabond prostitute in New York, nearly one hundred vicious criminals have developed.

Putting these things and their like together, self-extinction is no more effective for vice than it is for smallpox and yellow fever.

REPRESSIVE LEGISLATION

The cure to which most of us are prone to turn is repressive legislation. Lions had best be caged, or when that is impossible, killed; and vicious men had best be intimidated with the penalty of prohibitory law, and this failing to make them virtuous, they had best be put behind the bars or locked up in reformatories. Without doubt, a vast amount of good is to be

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accomplished by repressive legislation, as courts of justice and penal institutions throughout the history of civilization bear witness; and the faith of men in their effectiveness is attested by the vast amounts of money which are spent on them. Now and then a man arises and denounces the legal prevention of vice and crime. "You cannot make men virtuous by law," they cry; "and all your efforts at it provoke the vicious to be worse. If men will gamble and drink and women will be immoral, give them license to do it; for the enactment of law against it will but add the crime of law-breaking to their career of vice." But experience shows that repressive legislation does repress. It is only external treatment for an internal malady, it is true; but wherever the majority of men and women in a community are determined on a righteous code and a virtu-

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ous social order, the arm of the law is mighty to close the haunts of vice and at least drive into obscurity the persistently vicious.

You can repress; but repression does not cure. It stanches the flow, but does not cure the wound.

EDUCATE!

The favorite method with another most respected element looks on it as purely an educational problem. They emphasize the ignorant reason as its cause, and appeal to man's tendency to self-preservation. Show a man that vice is self-hurtful and he will avoid it as a burnt child will avoid fire. Let the great teacher open up to them the realms of thought and imagination, the kingdoms of mind and soul culture, introduce them to the fair lands of human well-being, where the deadly marshes of vice and the thorn bushes of

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passion are left behind, where fountains break forth for the cure of the body's ills, and the sweet pure air of life blows on their faces from the Gardens of Immortality, where the soul learns to love and aspire as the mind grows the wings of mighty thought, where they company with the great and good of all ages, where life throbs in a work which never tires or fails to fruit and the soul is happy in a love whose growing pains are the bliss of existence; and it will be easy to leave vice behind. Show men the soul-life of which old Socrates spoke to the Greeks, and they will be glad to give up the animal life.

All this looks rational, and so it is; but vice is irrational. The ignorant reason is but one of its causes. Experience shows that education has not solved the problem, and points to the conclusion that it never will. It creates an atmosphere

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which moves mightily against vice, but the malady calls for more than an atmosphere. One of the most deplorable things about our problem is the large percentage of the victims of vice which come from the ranks of the educated. The prevalence of gambling and drunkenness among certain classes of the educated and cultured, the thievery to which many a man resorts in business, the immorality and drunkenness of even not a few college graduates, musicians, poets, and scientific men,—all these, instances of which abound in the acquaintance of all, show that the cure of vice calls for more than the enlightenment of man's ignorant reason.

THE CURE OF VICE

The cure of vice will not be found till we get something that will go to the root of the trouble, the perverted human will. The only thorough-going cure for vice

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which the world has ever seen is the remedy proposed and used so successfully by the Apostle Paul. Old Socrates tried to win the Greeks away from vice with pictures of the higher soul-life, but his countrymen made the great philosopher drink the poison hemlock for "corrupting their youth." The Apostle Paul went among them with a message which not only won them from vice, but captured and cleansed their very language as the voice through which this cure was to speak to the coming ages. This Jew of Tarsus had looked on vice in its most degrading forms; his mind had been opened to see the wounds which the claws of the animal made in the high form of man; and with all the passion of a great soul he had set about the mastery of the brute. He went into the arena and fought out the battle in his own experience. He tried repres-

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sion of the animal, and became a Pharisee of the Pharisees in his ardor for legalism. He tried enlightening the ignorant reason, and became a Greek in learning and culture. And yet, after sitting at the feet of Gamaliel for law and companioning with Greek philosophers for truth and culture, we still find him saying, "Wo is me! The good which I would, that I do not, and the evil which I would not, that I do! Who shall deliver me from the body of this death?" The answer came to him, he tells us, on the road to Damascus, where he learned to yield the control of his perverted will to Jesus Christ. The Gospel of Jesus Christ is the only hope for the victims of vice.

THE METHOD OF THE CURE

Let us see how the cure is effected. We have seen that vice is due to three causes, the animal in man, the ignorant

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reason, and the perverted will. How are these causes reached?

The death of the animal is "the putting off of the old man;" the ignorant reason is enlightened by his being "renewed in the spirit of his mind;" and the perverted will is righted by "putting on the new man."¹

This is what the Apostle calls "learning the truth as it is in Jesus." The acceptance of Christ as a Saviour brings these three things:

1. The change of one's nature, the new heart, in which animal desires are in some cases at once and in others gradually destroyed.

2. The enlightenment of the mind by the Spirit of Christ, by which one becomes "spiritually-minded," able to see what things are "pure and lovely and without reproach."

¹ Cf. Eph. 4:22-24.

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3. The enthronement of the will of Jesus as the law of all life. This takes the will captive, willingly, let us remember, through the change of nature which is wrought in the new birth, and turns the current of life toward virtue and away from vice.

This, of course, is simply the old message of the Gospel; and the moment it is announced as our boasted claim for vice, impatience and cynicism may come over the reader. "Have not preachers and church-members and even one of Jesus' own apostles turned out to be vicious characters? How can the Gospel, in the face of this, which adds hypocrisy to failure, be lauded as a cure for vice?"

These cases, however numerous they might be, do not offset the claim. The Gospel of Jesus is not to be blamed for failure where it has not been tried. The

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hypocrite in Christianity is the man who makes a pretence at using the Gospel of Christ to cure his vice. It is really a mere cloak with which to cover his indulgence in it. An honest trial of the Gospel is something which he did not even attempt. For these failures we are not to blame the Gospel, but that vicious nature in man which adds hypocrisy to his other vices.

The efficiency of the Man of Nazareth to cure vice has been attested throughout the ages since he walked among men. The witnesses that rise up and call Him "blessed" for delivering them from this "man of hell" are countless and irrefutable, from the Apostle Paul and the impetuous "Son of Thunder" to Jere McAuley and "Billy" Sunday. The greatest blunder of our age is our ignoring his matchless work. He is the specialist of vice; and this suffering race of self-hurt

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men and women is waiting for a generation of apostles and reformers who will point their blood-shot eyes to Jesus as their Deliverer, and put on their fever-smitten lips the song of Moses and the Lamb.

We stand on this black, seething cess-pool of the world's vice, sickened with the stench, heart broken as we see loved ones slipping into its insatiable muck and laughing at our warning cries as they elude the friendly grasp that would hold them back; and we grow frantic with the pain or callous under it. How can this foul and greedy pit of sin and crime and vice be blotted from our earth, and the sons and daughters of our race be saved from its blight?

The gift of God's Son is God's answer; and every man of the countless millions whom He has saved is God's commendation of it to us. This is God's way, and

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it works. May we give it full sway in our own lives, and with an earnestness born of our own experience, God help us to press it lovingly home on men. Thus, and thus alone, can we hasten that great day, pictured by prophet, sung of by poet, and hungered for by a suffering world, when they shall no longer hurt nor destroy in all God's holy mountain, when the nations shall not learn war any more, when the sucking child can play on the hole of the asp, because the knowledge of the Lord has filled the whole earth, and every tongue confesses and every heart possesses Jesus Christ as Lord.

THE DOUBLE NEED

*"God give us men! A time like this de-
mands
Strong minds, great hearts, true faith and
ready hands ;
Men whom the lust of office does not kill ;
Men whom the spoils of office cannot buy ;
Men who possess opinions and a will ;
Men who have honor ; men who will
not lie ;
Men who can stand before a demagogue
And damn his treacherous flatteries
without winking ;
Tall men, sun-crowned, who live above the
fog
In public duty and in private thinking.
For while the rabble with their thumb-
worn creeds,
Their large profession and their little deeds,
Mingle in selfish strife, lo! Freedom weeps,
Wrong rules the land, and waiting Justice
sleeps."*

J. G. HOLLAND.

CHAPTER VI

THE DOUBLE NEED

TO THE reader who has patiently followed this consideration of America's present-day problems, one thing must have been apparent,—that the writer has been attempting to study and solve them from what may be called the Christian point of view. Whatever may be our attitude towards Christ himself, one fact stands in need of no further proof,—the beneficent influences which have always attended the rule of Christianity in the state and social life of a nation. Progress and culture, virtue and liberty have been

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measured by the extent to which the life of Jesus has furnished the example for the individual and his teachings have been made the rule of the social order. If one will take a map of the world and mark the stages of culture and influence for progress and well-being of the different nations by shadings of color, it will be found that these shadings will exactly correspond to the place which the rule of Christ has in the lives of their peoples. The kingdom of God, which Jesus came to found, and of which he proved himself the worthy King by first showing himself to be the ideal citizen, is a perfect social order, in which all problems are solved. The application of these principles to the problems that to-day confront us is the only hope of salvation for our nation. Neither our free institutions nor our material resources can atone for degeneration

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of the individual. When patriotism is honeycombed with commercialism, when greed fattens on the hunger and poverty of the common people, and those who could prevent it let it be so, when the statesman has become but a politician and the prophet a dreamer, the day of our undoing is not far away. The strength of a nation is the average of its citizenship; no more.

The great need in all of these problems, whether it be the redemption of the black man or the cleansing of the city, is the transformation of the individual. This is the work of Jesus Christ, and of him alone.

The making of the perfect man has waited for two things. One of them is vision and the other is power. To see the good has been possible to a pagan, to Socrates and to Confucius, to Laotsze and

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the Buddha; but here the best of them had to stop. To get both the desire and the power to achieve the good, only the risen Christ has ever been able to breathe this into men.

No path to the best is easy, but we have gone far afield from the straight and narrow way by making little of Jesus, the King of Kings. "I can do all things through Christ, who strengtheneth me" is the glad cry of a man whose ambition for the best was ever being baffled till he received into his individual life the rule of the personal Christ; and, "Ye are complete in him," is the message which this great Apostle, who, "being dead, yet speaketh," is sounding in the ears of our nation to-day.

The solution of America's problems waits on a generation of men who will sit at the feet of Jesus till they see the vision

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of His kingdom, and who will then go forth and in His Spirit and by His power realize the vision.

In view of these things, the writer has no apology to make for preaching Jesus Christ and His rule for the solution of America's problems. He is still "foolishness" to many who think that "they are the people and wisdom will die with them," as he was with people of this type of old; and He is still a "stumbling block" to some who are wedded to a way of their own making, as He has been in time past; but to everyone that believeth, whether individual or nation, Jesus is still "the power of God unto salvation."

The "fatherhood of God" and the "brotherhood of man" stand for the two most precious possessions of our race, but both of them are empty bombast or ex-

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ecrable subterfuges without the "saviourhood of Jesus."

HE CAME UNTO HIS OWN, AND HIS OWN RECEIVED HIM NOT; BUT AS MANY AS RECEIVED HIM, TO THEM GAVE HE POWER TO BECOME THE SONS OF GOD.

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